SOCIAL PROCESS
IN HAWAII

Published by the

SOCIOLOGY CLUB

in collaboration with

THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII

VOLUME V

JUNE, 1939

HONOLULU, HAWAII, U.S.A.

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FOREWORD

BERNARD K. YAMAMOTO

It is perhaps a sign of Hawaii's "coming of age" that increasing public attention is being directed to the problems of community disorganization. The dislocation of industry and society growing out of the recent depression, coupled with the individual maladjustment resulting from the conflict of cultures, has necessitated the enactment of considerable social legislation in the Territory. The amount of such legislation has been conditioned by the energy of interested citizens on the one hand and the indifference of legislators on the other.

"Social security" is coming more and more into the forefront of our community thinking as a consequence of the crucial issues arising out of unemployment, social and mental diseases, family conflicts, and broken homes. The need for accurate knowledge, not only of the extent of these problems, but also as to their causation, has likewise been impressed upon the community and a series of fact-finding surveys and researches with respect to these problems have been undertaken during the past few years. During the summer of 1937 Dr. Franklin G. Ebaugh of the Colorado Psychopathic Hospital directed a survey of the mental health conditions in the Territory, which resulted in the creation of a mental health clinic on a demonstration basis by the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce in conjunction with the City and County government of Honolulu. During 1938-1939 the Honolulu Council of Social Agencies made a survey of the juvenile delinquency problem in the Kalihi section of Honolulu with special emphasis on the function of the family in the misconduct of young offenders. A series of basic studies in the field of social pathology have been undertaken by the Department of Sociology of the University of Hawaii and by various civic organizations in the Territory.

It is in the spirit of adding somewhat to a scientific knowledge and a sympathetic understanding of the problems within this field that *Social Process in Hawaii* has selected the articles for this issue around the central theme of social disorganization in Hawaii. The dynamic qualities of any community lead to growth and decay; and disorganization is no less natural or inevitable than organization. The peculiar character of Hawaii's plantation economy, necessitating the large importations of cheap labor from Asia, Southern Europe, the West Indies, Oceania, and more recently from the Philippines, has intensified the problems of cultural conflict and disorganization found in any immigrant community. It is perhaps for this reason that the following articles may appear to be unduly weighed with a consideration of the problems of the immigrant groups and the break down of their cultures.

A prefatory statement on social disorganization in Hawaii is designed to orient the reader to the theme of this year's issue. Dr. Andrew W. Lind calls attention first to the community disorganization growing out of the conflict of cultures and the weakening of

old moral values which accompany the growing secularization of life in the Islands and secondly to the community disruption occasioned by the maturation of Island plantation economy and the increasing influence in Hawaii of mainland conceptions of industrial democracy. He points out that the rapid glutting of the labor market with both trained and unskilled workers and the growing manifestation of labor unrest as manifested in strikes and lockouts are causing Hawaii's social planners apprehension concerning the future.

Dr. Herbert Blumer, visiting professor of sociology from the University of Chicago, affords the student of social psychology a keen insight into the problems affecting the interaction of races and groups of people of diverse cultural backgrounds. Dr. Blumer contends that racial prejudice is essentially a group manifestation of dislike for the stranger, based upon a psychology of ethnocentrism. Racial prejudice becomes excessive under conditions where the in-group assumes a position of social and political superiority over the out-group. An individual comes to exhibit hatred and dislike for another group only when his own group has so defined the situation for him. And conversely where only a small number of another group appear in the immigrant community racial prejudice will be less acute.

A study of Honolulu Japanese barber girls which is presented in this publication is an abstract of a larger study by Miss Yukiko Kimura, Japanese secretary of the Honolulu Y.W.C.A. and formerly a resident of Japan. The abstract reveals something of the cultural conflict in the lives of the barber girls who are precluded by their minimum training in the public schools, long working hours, and the close surveillance of the proprietors, from a vital participation in the American community about them. Their personalities have been largely organized around the old country values and standards. However, the very fact of a superficial and secondary contact with the American culture is resulting in overt behavior which the outsider may interpret as disorganizing—the reading of cheap American magazines, going to movies, and engaging in off-color conversations.

Social workers particularly will value the article by Miss Eileen Blackey, director of social work training at the University of Hawaii. She has provided a working compendium of the major cultural factors in the local situation of which the social worker must take account. This article should prove a useful corrective for the common tendency of recent arrivals from continental United States to interpret social relations here in terms of mainland values and stereotyped attitudes.

The article by Charles Kenn, student of Hawaiian culture and a parole worker in Honolulu, reveals the manner in which certain persistent elements in the native culture have run counter to American laws and moral standards as interpreted by social workers.

The paper by Bernard K. Yamamoto develops the proposition that Japanese juvenile delinquency was formerly kept at a minimum by the strong control of the Japanese ghetto, but today the

Japanese rate is steadily increasing because of the break down of old country customs and institutions as a result of the interaction of cultures.

The peculiarities of the local cultural situation provide the basis for the article by Caroline Lee, junior student in sociology, on the problem of desertion in Hawaii.

The paper on the administration of public welfare includes objective data concerning dependency in its various aspects in Hawaii and the problems faced by the social worker working in this field. In this paper Iwao Mizuta deals especially with the case worker's problem of budgeting the client's monthly allowance.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The staff wishes to acknowledge its indebtedness to the following agencies for their cooperation in the publication of this issue: Children's Service Association, Court of Domestic Relations, Detention Home, Department of Public Instruction, Honolulu District Employment Office, Public Welfare Commission of Oahu, Family Consultation Service, Honolulu Police Department, and to the National Youth Administration for clerical service.

SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION IN HAWAII

ANDREW W. LIND

Hawaii may be thought of, from one point of view, as an area of profound and widespread social disorganization, a region in which cultures are breaking down and moral systems are losing their influence. As in other places where different races and cultures meet, the building of a common order in which all may participate is contingent upon a certain disruption of established customs and values—in short, of what we ordinarily mean by social disorganization. The price of Americanization, of a working unity in an immigrant situation of diverse cultures is always a greater or less degree of temporary disorder and disorganization. This is perhaps self-evident, but like so many truisms, it is frequently overlooked.

But the extent and character of the disorganization has obviously varied from time to time and from place to place. We cannot speak of the deflections from the conventional norms of behavior during the adventurous Sandalwood days as being in quite the same category, let us say, as the secularization and individualization of conduct which is going on today. Nor is it particularly enlightening to discuss the wild and variant behavior of the early womenless and homeless labor immigrants to Hawaii as being of the same character as the gradual emancipation of the second generation from the rigid rules of the first generation ghetto. The flaunting of conventional American sex mores by the *malahini* tourist in Flappers' Acre and the casual slipping in and out of common-law marriage relations in Hell's Half Acre may both be regarded as "problems" by different groups of observers.

Social workers, teachers, public-minded citizens, and even tourists are constantly calling attention to "problems", social situations which distress and disturb them, and about which "something ought to be done". They have included all of the phenomena just mentioned and a great many others ranging from nude bathing to suicide. A classification of these "problems" would doubtless be revealing as to the common conception of social disorganization in Hawaii, but unfortunately there is too little agreement as to what constitutes a "social problem". For what is one man's vice is another man's pleasure.

The common element in the "problems" with which we shall be concerned in this paper is the dissolution or malfunctioning of the accepted rules of behavior in the Hawaiian community. The breakdown of social controls is, of course, never complete as long as society continues to function at all, and it is always accompanied by the correlated rebuilding and reorganizing tendencies in the community. The special function of this article is to block out some of the major factors which contribute to social disorganization in Hawaii.

The social forces released with the discovery of Hawaii in 1778 were responsible for a series of social dislocations which are still marked in the Islands. The decadence of the *kapu* system,

"keystone of the arch that supported the traditional culture of old Hawaii," was thought by many students to be complete before the arrival of the missionaries. Actually the more significant, if less dramatic, phases of the process occurred as late as the nineties During the greater part of the last century the system of moral values and of institutions which had given meaning and direction to the lives of the native Hawaiians during the generations prior to Captain Cook was gradually losing its effectiveness under the steady impact of Western influences—trade, particularly, but also the missionary effort and the plantation system. This collective demoralization, measured by the widespread loss of confidence in the old system of values, had probably reached its peak nearly a century ago.[1]

There was on the other hand the disorganization typified by the sailor and beachcomber who left their morals at home. The accounts of drunken brawls and riots which fill the pages of Hawaiian journals and memoirs during much of the nineteenth century are a reflection of the wild expressive behavior of young men away from home and family controls, as well, perhaps as of the reaction to the rigid discipline and monotony of life at sea.

Both of these types of disorganization have their counterparts in the experience of the subsequent immigrant groups. First in point of time has usually been the individualized expression—the riotous behavior of the recently arrived immigrant who has been released from the restraining influence of the mores of the homeland and is not yet initiated or responsive to those of the new. Without exception each of the various ethnic groups has been subject to criticism for the moment of disorder occasioned by its single men soon after their arrival in Hawaii.[2] The rigorous control of the plantations served to diminish but not to eliminate such vices as prostitution, gambling, and the use of drugs, but in the urban communities particularly these forms of variant behavior found expression. Usually the arrival of a sufficient number of immigrants with the same cultural heritage and the establishment of a stable family life in the new community brought about a reorganization of life largely on the basis of old-country standards.

The demands of the new situation however, placed serious obstacles to the smooth functioning of old-country morals in Hawaii. For however well organized the immigrant community might be, its members usually secured their livelihood outside the racial ghetto under circumstances which compelled some critical evaluation of their own moral standards. Merely to discover that there are different conceptions of right and wrong, different modes of securing and treating a marriage mate, of controlling and rearing children, of conceiving of life itself, naturally calls

1 Cf. E. S. C. Handy, Cultural Revolution in Hawaii; A. W. Lind, "Modification of Hawaiian Character", in E. B. Reuter (ed.) Race and Culture Contacts.

2 On the grounds of such behavior, the immigrants have frequently been criticized as being the dregs of their own society, the biological off-scourings of their home land. With the possible exception of one of the ethnic groups in Hawaii, there is no evidence that the immigrants represent biological selection inferior to that of the home land.

into question the sanctity of the old values. Continued contact with peoples of widely differing culture systems leads inevitably to moral relativism and the individualization of behavior. The urban setting particularly, with its greater freedom of movement and emancipation from conduct-defining groups such as the family, church, and neighborhood greatly intensified these disorganizing tendencies, and we may anticipate a continuation of these trends as the plantations and other rural areas are increasingly brought within the sphere of urban influence.

The so-called "second-generation problem" represents one of the more dramatic aspects of the disorganization arising from the meeting of several cultures in Hawaii. For the Island-born children of alien ancestry conduct becomes a matter, not of blind adherence to customs, but of choice between the rigid standards of their parental culture and the somewhat flexible moral definitions of the American community. That in the process many should avoid the dilemma by following merely their own inclinations and desires is surely not surprising. As in other areas of extensive immigration, the second generation contribute much more to crime and delinquency in proportion to their numbers than do the first generation, and there is evidence that the ratios are increasing as the process of Americanization continues.

A new element has been injected into the Island situation as it affects social organization and disorganization through a fundamental shift in the economy. Whereas a generation ago Hawaii was clearly a region of "open resources" where the means of securing a livelihood were open to all able-bodied persons in the community, within the past fifteen years definite limitations to the occupational opportunities within the terriory have begun to appear. There is evidence of a differential rate of maturation of island economy as between industry and population, with a consequent state of disequilibrium. For the first time in history, Hawaii's labor problem has shifted from one of providing an adequate supply of workers for an expanding industry to one of finding sufficient employment for an expanding population. It is estimated that under conditions which existed in 1930 an excess of approximately 5,000 persons were being added annually to the employable population over fifteen years of age, while at the same time the total employment remained practically stationary.[3] For the first time during the past eight years, unemployment has been a reality in Hawaii. Territorial planners estimate that there are between four and five thousand unemployed at present (May, 1939) and the number is expected to increase by another two thousand in the near future. The effect of widespread unemployment upon individual and community morale in a region where self support is still part of the mores is not difficult to imagine.[4]

The problem may be conceived somewhat differently in terms of the mounting surplus of adults with vocational and economic

3 Assuming natural growth only and no migration.

4 It should be observed that the disorganizing aspects of unemployment in Hawaii is not yet so much a reality as a prospect. In terms of the total employable population, it is not over three per cent.

hopes and aspirations which cannot be realized under the existing economy. Hawaii has been for long a land of opportunity, where the penniless immigrant found not only a livelihood but frequently also a road to wealth, that it is difficult now to accept the reality of a changed situation. Less than one fifth of our employed population are engaged in the so-called "preferred positions"—professional, proprietary, and clerical—and there is little prospect of this ratio increasing materially. The bulk of our vocational opportunities, over 65 per cent, fall in the least desirable fields of unskilled and domestic labor Certainly the preferred fields in Hawaii cannot accommodate even the major portion of the 3,000 annual graduates from our public and private high schools.[5] The misplaced hopes and ambitions and the subsequent disillusionment of youth in Hawaii are perhaps similar to those of other areas, but the greater magnitude of the striving of Island young people intensifies all the more the loss of confidence, not only in the social system, but in themselves, when their hopes prove futile.

Still another and closely related form of social disorganization in Hawaii which has attracted public attention only within the past few years is the problem growing out of industrial conflict. The political character of the plantation, with its system of perquisites, bonuses, contracts, and private policing, has served to discourage the over expressions of labor unrest. Labor, on the other hand, because of its racial and cultural cleavages, its lack of a tradition for organization, has failed thus far in achieving a solid front in its struggles. Within the past five years, however, as a consequence of a growing class consciousness on the part of an educated and vocal citizenry whose expectations of individual advancement along the economic ladder had been rudely shaken, and as a consequence of mainland legislation, labor organization in the urban centers has greatly increased.[6] A number of serious strikes and lockouts have occurred both on the plantations and in the urban centers.

As the lines between labor and capital are more sharply drawn, and classes are more effectively organized for *conflict*, the dangers of community disorganization obviously increase. The immediate future is almost certain to increase the points of friction at which public interests suffer. It is still too early to predict the manner in which the conflict may be resolved.

Finally some attention should be directed to the problem of race prejudice, from which Hawaii has been relatively free thus far in its history. The historical accidents responsible for what Dr. Adams calls "the unorthodox race doctrines of Hawaii" or its "mores of racial equality" need not particularly concern us here.[7] What is significant, however, is the appearance of a

5 During the years from 1935 to 1938, the number of twelfth grade students in public and private high schools in Hawaii increased from 2200 to 3360, and this trend is likely to continue for another four years at least.

6 The 1939 report of the Hawaiian Education Association Committee on Social and Economic Plans provides a brief history of organized labor in Hawaii, an appraisal of unionism today, and a detailed account of recent industrial conflicts in Hawaii.

7 Romanzo Adams, "The Unorthodox Race Doctrines of Hawaii," in E. B. Reuter (ed.), Race and Culture Contacts, 1934.

number of intrusive factors in the local situation—the mounting influence of the military and the *malahini* tourist population with their traditions of a racial caste system, the diminishing opportunity for occupational advancement, and the corresponding rise of a large lower class citizenry—which now constitute a definite challenge to Hawaii's system of race relations. Despite the steady process of assimilation, assisted by the forces of school, press, and political party, barriers to full participation are likely to evoke and intensify the latent prejudices within the racial situation. The strength of the older Hawaiian tradition of race relations will unquestionably serve to defer and mitigate the dangers of this form of community disorganization, but they can scarcely prevent it entirely.

The correlated process of reorganization, without which this picture of the Island situation is obviously incomplete, will be discussed in subsequent issues of *Social Process in Hawaii.*

THE NATURE OF RACE PREJUDICE

HERBERT BLUMER

When one views the recent and present relations between races in different parts of the world he must necessarily be impressed by the magnitude, the tenacity, and the apparent spontaneity of racial prejudice. That it is exceedingly common can scarcely be denied. That it may persist as a chronic attitude over decades of time can be shown by several instances. That it may emerge immediately in new contacts between races can be easily documented, especially in the contacts of whites with other ethnic groups. Indeed, so impressive is its extensiveness, persistency, and apparent spontaneity that many students regard it as inevitable. They believe that it arises from some simple biological tendency—such as an innate aversion of race to race—which is bound to express itself and to dominate race relations. .

Interestingly enough, the actual facts of race relations force us to adopt a very different view. For, frequently, racial prejudice may not appear in racial contacts; if present, it may disappear; or, although present, it may not dominate the relations. Instead of thinking of racial prejudice as an invariant and simple matter it must be viewed as a highly variable and complex phenomenon. This is shown, first of all, by the markedly differing character of race relations themselves. There are many instances where members of divergent races may associate in the most amiable and free fashion, intermarrying and erecting no ethnic barriers between them. In other instances there may prevail rigid racial exclusion supported by intense attitudes of discrimination.

Between these extremes there may be other forms of association. Further, the history of any fairly prolonged association between any two ethnic groups usually does not show the continuous existence of any fixed or invariant relation. Instead the association and the attitudes which sustain it usually pass through a variety of forms. The markedly differing and variable nature of race relations should make it clear that racial prejudice is not inevitable or bound to dominate the relations. Even though it be very common and very tenacious it must be recognized as merely one form of ethnic relation. It must or may not be present; and even where present, it usually arises inside of a temporal sequence of relations.

Even more important is the realization that racial prejudice is highly variable itself. Instead of always having the same form, nature, and intensity, it may differ a great deal from time to time and from place to place. A comparison of instances of racial prejudice shows that it may differ in intensity, in quality of feeling, in the views by which it is supported, and in manifestation. The prejudice of the American southerner toward the Negro may be great, but it is recognized by many as being less than that of the South African white toward his colored neighbors. The attitude of prejudice of the gentile toward the Jew has varied in intensity and form from locality to locality and

from time to time. Ethnic prejudice may be bitter in one situation and mild in another. The fact that we generally speak of an increase or decrease of prejudice points to its variability. Thus, while prejudice is very real and obtrusive, and while it is permissable to treat it as a type phenomenon, recognition must be taken of its changeable and differing character.

The fact that prejudice is not a constant accompaniment of race relations, and that it is variable in its nature, indicates that it is a product of certain kinds of situations and experiences. Two problems are immediately suggested: (1) what are the situations which give rise to racial prejudice, and (2) what experiences account for the variation in its nature and form. Before discussing these two problems it is advisable to consider briefly the nature of race prejudice and point out some of the features by which it is usually identified.

Race prejudice always exists as a group prejudice directed against another group. This means two important things: (1) it exists as a collective or shared attitude, and (2) it is directed toward a *conceptualized group* or abstract category. Each of these two features requires some explanation. Race prejudice is a collective or shared attitude in the sense that it is held by a number of people, who stimulate one another in the expression of the attitude. Through this form of interaction they build up, sustain, and reinforce the attitude in one another. Through conversation, through the observation of one another's actions, through relating one's experiences, through the expression of one's feelings and emotions before others, through circulating tales, stories and myths, the members of an ethnic group come to build up a common or collectively shared attitude. This shared character of the attitude of racial prejudice raises the interesting question as to how far the attitude is shaped by the intertransmission of experience rather than by direct contact with the group toward which the attitude is directed. All that needs to be indicated here is that its character will differ in accordance with what enters into these collective experiences.

In speaking of race prejudice as directed toward a "conceptualized group" or abstract category, all that is meant is that the object toward which it is directed represents a classification of individuals and so is an abstract category inside of which we conceptually arrange individuals. For example, we may speak of prejudice against the Jew, the Negro or the Oriental; in these cases, the Jew, the Negro, and the Oriental stand respectively for certain large classifications or categories in which we conceptually arrange people. The prejudice exists as an attitude toward the classification or is built up around the conceptualized object which stands for the classification. Or, paradoxically, we may say that the prejudice exists as an attitude toward what is logically an abstraction.[1] The prejudice is manifested against a specific individual by identifying the individual with the conceptualized object and then directing towards him the attitude that one has toward the conceptualized object. Thus one may identify an individual as being *a* Negro, and thus be led to direct towards him the attitude that one has toward *the* Negro. If a Negro successfully disguises himself (as by wearing a turban which gives him the appearance of being a Hindu) so that he is not detected or classified as a Negro, he will escape the attitude which is held toward the Negro. Perhaps all this is obvious; but it is important to recognize that racial prejudice is directed toward a conceptualized object, and that individuals come to bear the brunt of this prejudice to the extent to which they are identified with the conceptualized object.

1 This point is of considerable importance because where the object of a group attitude is an abstraction it is possible to build up toward it very weird and extreme notions which may vary widely from the facts of concrete experience.

The two features which we have just discussed—the fact that the attitude is a product of collective experience, and that it is directed toward a conceptualized object—are intimately interrelated. Generally we may say (a) that the content of the collective experience determines the form and nature of the conceptualized object, and (b) that the conceptualized object becomes a framework inside of which collective experience may take place. Let us explain each of these two statements. With reference to the first statement it should be pointed out, first of all, that the content of collective experience of one group will determine what classifications they will make of other peoples and so what conceptualized objects they will build up. This gives to the conceptualized objects a somewhat arbitrary character. Thus the American gentile will ordinarily have a concept of the Jew which takes no recognition of the keen conceptual differentiations that the Jews are liable to make among themselves, such as between Spanish Jews, German Jews, Russian Jews, or Polish Jews. Or the American white may conceive the Negro as consisting of individuals who have any trace of Negro ancestry, whereas what the Frenchman means by the Negro is likely to be a very much narrower group. Many other instances could be given; but the illustrations will suffice to show that the particular classifications which are made or which are selected out may vary considerably. The variation seems to be due to the differences of group experience. Not only is the form of the conceptualized object determined by collective experience but the way in which the object is conceived is determined by this experience. This should be self evident. Southern whites with their experiences during slavery and following the civil war formed a conception of the Negro which was necessarily different from that developed by the whites in Brazil, where the line of experience was significantly different.

While the conceptualized object is formed, shaped, and colored by the experiences of the group, it is equally true that the conceptualized object orders, directs, and constrains the experiences of the group. So we come to explain statement (b) mentioned above. When a concept of an ethnic group is formed and that group is conceived in a certain way, the concept and the conception will influence to a large extent the kind of experiences that people will have in their association with members of that

ethnic group. They will subject this association to the form and framework that is laid down by their concept and conceptions of the ethnic group; accordingly, the kind of experiences they have with members of another ethnic group is largely coerced by this framework. The southern white in his contact with a Negro acts toward him on the basis of a pretty fixed conception that he has of him, expects from him a certain kind of behavior, is sensitized to perceive certain actions. is prepared to interpret these actions in well-defined ways, and is ready to respond emotionally in a fixed manner. This will suggest how the conceptualized object which is had of a race may largely predetermine the collective experiences that come from association with members of that race. Reasons will be given later to suggest why this predetermination of experience by the conceptualized object may become rigid and extreme, and under what conditions it may be slight and malleable. Here it is sufficient merely to point out that collective experience and conceptualization interact to control one another, and to suggest that this mutual control may become so tight that they become essentially one, or their natures identical.

The experiences of ethnic group A with ethnic group B, built up as they are largely in terms of the interaction inside of group A, will reflect themselves in the conception which group A has of group B; this conception will largely control the nature of the experiences which the members of group A have with group B, and the way in which they digest these experiences in their interaction with one another. The history of race prejudice is a history of the interaction between concept and experience. This is what is involved, then, in the statement that race prejudice is a case of prejudice of one group against another group.[2]

It is time now to consider what is peculiar to the attitude of racial prejudice—what distinguishes it from other kinds of racial attitudes. The usual tendency is to regard this attitude as simple or unitary, as if it were made up of a single feeling such as dislike or hatred. Such a view, however, is impossible and cannot be squared with facts. Admittedly, the chief feeling in racial prejudice is usually a feeling of dislike or an impulse of aversion; but it is a mistake to regard such a feeling or impulse as the only one, or even necessarily always the main one. Instead, racial prejudice is made up of a variety of feelings and impulses which in different situations enter into the attitude in differing combinations and differing proportions. Hatred, dislike, resentment, distrust, envy, fear, feelings of obligation, possessive impulses, secret

2 It is clear that whether an individual generalizes his distasteful or thwarting experiences into an attitude of prejudice against a group depends largely on the presence of conceptualized objects in his culture. An American white may have highly distasteful experiences with one or several red-headed people; he is very unlikely to develop an attitude of prejudice against the "red-head," because in American culture there is no conceptualization of the "red-head" which would encourage this. The same kind of experiences with Negroes might easily lead him to form a prejudiced attitude against the Negro; in this instance the form of conceptualization would easily permit and justify such a generalization of experience. Further, even if one does develop an attitude of prejudice against a conceptualized group built up out of his own experience it is likely to be weak and ineffective unless shared by his fellows. One is largely sustained in his attitude by the reinforcement which he gets from his fellows.

curiosities, sexual interests, destructive impulses, guilt—these are some of the feelings and impulses which may enter into racial prejudice and which in their different combinations give it a differing character. Some of these feelings and impulses may be vivid and easily identified; others are obscure; and still others may be present without their presence being realized. We are forced, I think, to realize that the attitude of racial prejudice is constituted and sustained by a variety of impulses and feelings, and that it gets its peculiar complexion from the peculiar nature of these impulses and feelings. In this way we can account for the differences in racial prejudice that have already been mentioned. The impulses and feelings that come to be embodied in a given instance of racial prejudice have been induced and shaped by the past and present experiences of the given ethnic group. From this point of view we can regard race prejudice as a medium for the expression of various feelings and impulses, some of which may be the consequence of experiences that have no reference to the group against which the prejudice is manifested.

The complexity of the constituent and sustaining elements of an attitude of race prejudice makes it difficult to explain exhaustively the experiences and situations that give rise to racial prejudice. Yet, certain of the more important lines of origin can be pointed out. One of them, undoubtedly, is the general ethnocentrism of groups, showing itself in some aversion to strange and peculiar ways of living, and in a feeling of the inherent superiority of one's own group. There seems to be little doubt that many actions of a strange and alien group may appear uncouth and sometimes repulsive and lead to the formation of an unfavorable impression which may come to be built up into a collective attitude. Such an attitude because it springs from the perception of actions which seem to be offensive and occasionally disgusting may get rooted in the antipathies of people. In addition the general feeling of the superiority of one's own group leads easily to the tendency to disparage other groups, to discriminate against them, and to take advantage of them. There seems to be little doubt that ethnocentrism, in these two phases, is a primitive tendency of group life; as such it must be reckoned with as a nucleus around which an attitude of racial prejudice may develop. And the greater the ethnocentrism, the greater is the likelihood that it may lead to group prejudice. Something of this is to be seen in the frequency with which racial prejudice appears among expanding imperialistic peoples.

Yet, however important ethnocentrism may be as a factor in racial prejudice, it does not seem to be the decisive factor. Of more importance is what amounts to a primitive tribal tendency in the form of fear of an attack, of displacement, or of annihilation. This is suggested by the nature of the situations where racial prejudice is usually most pronounced and serious. Racial prejudice is usually most acute in a social situation which has the following characteristics.

1) The two ethnic groups live together in some degree.

The subordinate ethnic group is accepted to some extent, in the sense that it is associated with and depended upon by the dominant ethnic group. The relation between the two groups may be one of mere accommodation or symbiosis, but in any event, the two groups live together inside of a common territory as parts of a unitary society.

2) The acceptance of the subordinate ethnic group, however, is limited and involves various kinds of exclusion and discrimination. There are certain privileges and opportunities which its members are regarded as not being entitled to. In this sense, the subordinate ethnic group is assigned to an inferior status or, as is frequently said, it is expected to keep to a certain place.

3) The dominant ethnic group has a fear that the subordinate group is not keeping to its place but threatens to claim the opportunities and privileges from which it has been excluded. As such, it is sensed and felt as a threat to the status, security, and welfare of the dominant ethnic group.

It is in a social situation with these three features that racial prejudice seems to have its primary setting. As the saying goes, as long as the subordinate ethnic group keeps to its place, prejudice toward it is at a minimum. Indications of getting out of its place are felt by the dominant ethnic group as an attack and invoke primitive feelings of tribal protection and preservation. Some of the areas of exclusion have a particularly strong symbolic significance, so that entrance into such areas is an especially acute sign of what is felt to be unwarranted and dangerous aggression and attack. Unaccustomed economic competition ranks high here; also entrance into the more intimate sphere of exclusion. What adds peculiarity to this feeling of being atacked is the fact that the dominant and subordinate ethnic groups, as mentioned above, are usually living together. This means that the attack seems to come from an "inner enemy;" the resulting apprehension seems to be of peculiar complexity—more abiding, more perplexing, more worrisome and more unstable. The fact that the threatening group must be accepted yields an anomalous and instable character to the feelings of apprehension.

The greater the threat which is *felt*, the greater is likely to be the prejudice. The size of the subordinate ethnic group, its degree of militancy, its degree of clannishness, and the extent of its claims are factors which are likely to determine the extent of the threat. On the side of the dominant ethnic group, the degree of ethnocentrism, the degree of tribal solidarity, the rigidity of the idea of its own status, and the tightness of the lines of exclusion which it lays down are factors which increase the likelihood of its construing actions as an attack upon it.

The foregoing discussion should make clear the general character of racial prejudice and the lines along which it is formed. If ethnic contacts are attended by feelings of ethnocentrism, and

if the ethnic group in the dominant position feels that its common status is insecure and is under the threat of an attack by a subordinate ethnic group, prejudice seems to be the inevitable result. Ethnocentrism helps to set and sustain patterns of social exclusion. Failure to observe these patterns by the excluded group are felt as threats and attacks to tribal status, security, and welfare. Feelings of aversion, fear, and hostility—all more or less in a state of suspension—seems to be the result.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the formation of racial prejudice is not an immediate or inevitable matter but that, instead, it is a product of collective experience, and is dependent upon the extent to which this collective experience fits the conditions which have been specified. The initial conditions of ethnic contact may or may not be conducive to the development of racial prejudice; if the framework of ethnocentrism is not laid down along ethnic lines, racial prejudice is not likely to get started. (As in the case of the early expansion of Mohammedanism which, while involving extensive ethnic contacts, was organized on the basis of *religious* ethnocentrism and gave rise to religious prejudices. Further, the incidents of experience in the association between ethnic groups may or may not lead a dominant group to feel that it is being threatened.

When specific instances of racial prejudice are traced through it will usually be found that the prejudice has folowed upon a series of experiences or incidents which are resented by a dominant ethnic group and construed as affronts, unwarranted aggressions and attacks—usually as signs of a possibly more abiding and more threatening attack. The history of race prejudice could be written (and would have to be written) in terms of such incidents, especially the more exciting ones. For it is such incidents that stir people, arouse feelings, and initiate that interchange of experience that we can speak of metaphorically as a process of collective digestion. Such collective experiences yield the new meaning and content that become fused into the "conceptualized object" which the one ethnic group has made of the other. Since these collective experiences are an outgrowth of primitive and deep seated feelings, it is not surprising that the conceptualized object becomes emotional and fixed in nature, and that in acquiring such a form it exercises a coercive control over subsequent collective experience.[3] A social situation favoring (and attended by) a run of incidents, especially of a critical nature, which make a dominant ethnic group *feel* that its position is being jeopardized and its security seriously threatened easily conduces to tenacious racial prejudice. A very powerful complex of feelings and sentiments may develop, under the influence of collective experience, and become fused into the conceptualized image of an ethnic

3 It should be realized that an attitude of racial prejudice, once formed, is transportable. It may be brought into a situation where it has not previously existed; or communicated to those whose own experiences have not given rise to it. In this way, racial prejudice may occur in situations which do not have the features which we have been discussing.

group.[4]

It is not surprising that the attitude of racial prejudice should become deeper embedded in the individual as the collective feeling becomes more intense and the conceptualized object more emotionally forbiding. It may even get deeply rooted in the individual's antipathies so that the individual's organism rebels at even the thought of entering into certain kinds of relations—especially intimate touch relations—with members of the other ethnic group. Such antipathies seem to be in the nature of strong defense reactions which seem *to be symbolic* of the collective feelings of exclusiveness and fear of invasion. Indeed, although it might seem incredible, the primitive feeling of tribal preservation may become transferred to the antipathies so that some of them become more important than existence itself. The Southern whites would probably prefer the thought of annihilation to the thought of their women becoming the consorts of Negroes.

The analysis of racial prejudice which has been made should throw some light on the viciousness of behavior in which racial prejudice may at times express itself, and on the ease with which it may become a scape goat mechanism. Since the attitude of prejudice is rooted in a primitive feeling of tribal preservation and may, under the influence of historical experience, become highly symbolical of such a tribal position, it is not surprising that in response to a critical incident, it might express itself in vicious and brutal behavior. Deep rooted fears, restrained and simmering hatreds, strong defense feelings, and strongly felt antipathies may all gain an expression at such a time. Indeed, many other feelings and impulses which enter into the structure of the attitude—especially the more unconscious ones—may gain expression at this time. (It is well to remember, as stated previously, that a variety of impulses and feelings may enter into the attitude of racial prejudice as a result of the collective experiences of the group.)

Light is also thrown on the ease with which racial prejudice may become a scape goat mechanism. Mention has already been made of the fact that the interexchanging of experience between members of an ethnic group may be more influential in the formation of their attitude than actual experience with the group toward which prejudice is developed. This makes ample room for the development of myths and for the focussing on a given race of feelings that have nothing intrinsically to do with it. In this way the attitude toward an ethnic group may come to be the carrier of feelings and impulses aroused in other areas of experience.

4 It is appropriate to note that the conditions that give rise to prejudice may likewise give rise to prejudice in other kinds of groups. Many instances are provided in American history, especially in the case of European immigrant groups. Usually, such groups were regarded as inferior by the native whites; their effort to improve their economic and social position was frequently regarded as undue encroachment and as a threat pressing themselves in discrimination and occasionally in violence. What is of crucial significance in such instances, as students have frequently noted, is that members of such a group which is incurring prejudice, in not being ethnically distinct, may avoid much prejudice and move into other groups. Group prejudice is difficult to maintain under such conditions. Where prejudice arises against people who are racially distinct and recognizable, the prejudice is more persistent and less easily escape'. This seems to be the chief reason for the greater tenacity of race prejudice as against other forms of group prejudice.

This can be done with special ease in the case of race prejudice, since the ethnic group is sensed as an "inner enemy," as a more or less persistent threat to vital security and existence. At times of critical distress, disturbance, or calamity it is easy to hold it responsible for the insecurity and woes that are experienced.

Before ending the discussion, some attention may be given to the interesting problem of the breaking down of racial prejudice. First of all, it should be noted again that racial prejudice is not inevitable in ethnic contacts. Racial prejudice may not even appear; or if it does appear, it may not take root; or, if it does take root, it may not grow. All depends upon the nature of the social situation and upon the incidents which occur; for these will influence the collective experience of the group and the resulting conceptualizing of the racial object. In the association of races, first of all, it is quite possible for people to classify one another on other bases than that of ethnic makeup in making their important group differentiations. In this event, the important group oppositions may easily cut across ethnic lines. This is to be seen historically in religious movements, in nationality opposition, and in some present day radical movements. Indeed, it might be declared that the widespread racial prejudice that exists in the world today is but a historical accident; that it is an expression of a historical epoch in which there is present at the same time heightened ethnocentrism on the part of groups that happen to be *ethnically distinct*, and a vast increase in contacts between such groups. Racial prejudice seems to have followed definitely in the swing toward modern nationalistic expansion. It may happen in the future, as it has at times in the past, that ethnic makeup will be of little meaning in the important group classifications that people make of one another, and consequently in the "tribal units" with which they identify themselves.

Where racial prejudice already exists, its disappearance or mitigation seems to turn on the condition that the subordinate ethnic group is no longer felt as a threat. This may be brought about in a number of ways. The subordinate ethnic group may keep fastly to an assigned status or to what the dominant group regards as its proper place; hence it is no longer felt as a threat. Or the subordinant group may retire into a segregated position, reducing its contacts with the dominant group, and building up a bilateral society. Both of these adjustments have gone on, and are going on today, in different parts of the world; but they seem to be only temporary appeasements—under modern conditions of communication and contact such adjustments can scarcely be expected to solidify or endure. The other way by which the subordinate group is no longer felt as a threat is by the dominant group changing its conceptualization of the subordinate groups, so that the group no longer is regarded as offensive and unacceptable. To the extent to which the group is regarded as acceptable and assimilable, to this extent it ceases to be regarded as a threat. Where the acceptance is full, the meaning of the original ethnic clasification has disappeared.

Modern intentional efforts to break down racial prejudice

are usually always along this third line, that is they try to change the *idea* which people of one race have toward another. We see this effort in the case of some churches, some educational agencies, and some humanitarian groups and individuals, all of whom try to point out the injustice and absurdity of a prevailing view of racial prejudice. The importance of such efforts is not to be minimized, but it is questionable whether they do have or can have much influence where racial prejudice is pronounced, or where the "conceptualized racial object" is strongly set. For the prejudice is certain to be rooted in the antipathies; and these do not change easily even though it be shown that the conceptualization is false and unjustifiable Efforts to have members of different races appreciate their common human character by entering into personal contact are likely to be more fruitful; for where people have an opportunity to identify themselves with one another and to learn each other's personal experiences, a collective conceptualization is difficult to maintain. But even such efforts are limited in possibility and run counter again to antipathies. Any profound change in antipathies is likely to come only as a result of a new body of collective experience built up either around new issues in which the ethnic factor is of no import, or based on a shift in the social scene (such as an extensive population change) in which races are brought into new forms of interdependency.

In closing this paper I wish merely to note that no discussion has been given in it to the topic of counter-prejudice—the defensive prejudice of the subordinate ethnic group against the dominant one. In many ways this counter-prejudice is more complicated, interesting and important than direct racial prejudice. It has been little studied.

AN ISLAND COMMUNITY

ANDREW W. LIND

(The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois, 1938).

Hawaii's incorporation into the world economy has brought with it many changes in the Islands' economic and social structure. Trade, stimulated by contacts with ships plying the Pacific during the early days of the Islands, resulted in the displacement of a subsistence economy by one based upon exchange. This reversal in the basic mode of life resulted in the disorganization in native life and aided in the depopulation of Hawaii.

The production of Island crops for world markets—particularly sugar—absorbed increasing areas of arable land and attracted large amounts of foreign capital and labor. The population, recruited from Europe, Asia, and the South Seas, to supply the labor demands of the plantations, totalled 400,000 people.

The absorption of these peoples in an area of limited resources has not been without its difficulties. The fact that the plantation laborers and their children in Hawaii will not be tied down to the soil has caused a series of occupational displacements and subsequent repercussions in attitudes and legislation.

Hawaii today is an area of closed resources as attested by the 30 year effort of Hawaii to invest its excess capital in foreign fields, the ceasing of immigration and the beginning of a small but significant emigration of native-born, and the dependence of the Islands upon the protection of American sugar tariff for its survival in competing with such areas as India, Java, Cuba, and Puerto Rico. Substantiating factors are the trend toward a more scientific land utilization and the increasing surplus labor which presents an immediate and serious problem affecting race relationship in the struggle for social status and economic security.

Dr. Lind's book, which gives perspective to Hawaii's human problems in the light of ecological changes, is an added contribution to a growing list of valuable scientific treatises on Island conditions.—I. M.

WHITHER HONOLULU

"If the existing city is not to go downhill in population, it must make itself over into the sort of environment in which having children will not be a burdensome liability. This calls for the systematic improvement of housing, the prevention of overcrowding, the establishment of healthy standards of density, the creation of necessary public open spaces. Such measures should be framed and applied to all undeveloped areas at once, to keep them from turning into slums and blighted districts: it calls likewise for their early application to older parts of the city, and in particular to those ripe for demolition as pestilential slums. Finally, it calls for the provision of gardens, parks, and recreation grounds on a scale that will give to the city all the advantages that the suburb usually has at the beginning of its existence—before the suburb itself becomes a prey to speculative disorder and congestion.

Ultimately, every well administered municipality, in order to save itself from bankruptcy and hopeless arrears, must offset the tendency toward reckless surburban growth by taking substantial measures toward its own renovation. Not merely must the municipality discourage such uneconomic growth by resisting premature subdivision, by withholding assent from ill-advised express highways, bridges, or tunnels that open up cheap land outside the municipality's area of control: what is much more important is that it will seek to make the city itself permanently attractive as a human home by slum clearance, large-scale housing, neighborhood planning, and park development." — Lewis Mumford, *Whither Honolulu*, 1938, P. 24.

HONOLULU BARBER GIRLS—A STUDY OF CULTURE CONFLICT

AN ABSTRACT OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY OF HONOLULU JAPANESE BARBER SHOP GIRLS

YUKIKO KIMURA

The study of the barber girls in the shops of Honolulu was undertaken for the purpose of determining the degree of assimilation that is now taking place in a small part of the Japanese community. It must be remembered that assimilation is a slow process and takes place only as the immigrant group is disposed to shed its Old World patterns on the one hand, and as it is accepted in the wider community, on the other. The process may be hastened or retarded by factors such as education, language, social contacts, race prejudice, and ethnocentrism but at best it requires generations for completion.

The study of the Japanese barber girls is of special moment in the understanding of this process for by the very nature of their occupation the barber girls come into intimate contact with a varied clientele, and as a consequence one might expect a high degree of assimilation. The manner in which the girls have responded to those influences—the extent to which they have become "Americanized" in a fundamental sense—provides an important test of the assimilative process.

The entrance of women into the barber's trade grew out of a family relationship. About 30 years ago when the Japanese men began entering into the commercial life of the city, the wives of men who owned barber shops began helping their husbands when the latter found work outside of the shop itself. This arrangement worked very well, and gradually more and more women entered the trade until in 1920 it came to be known as a "woman's trade." At present no young Japanese men will enter the field because it is felt that it belongs to the women.

Another reason for the restriction of the trade to women lies in the desires of the first generation Japanese to give their sons (in the traditional family pattern of the superiority of men) the opportunities of education. This necessarily meant that the daughters and wives, not the sons, had to work in the shops. Eighty per cent of the 87 girls who answered the questionnaires felt that the barber's trade was definitely a woman's occupation. Although some of the first generation proprietors of shops say that female workers attract increased trade and thereby increase profits, they insist this is a consequence and not the motive for hiring girls as workers.

The wage scale has been a further factor in restricting the field to women. Whereas men barbers ordinarily get a weekly wage of $15.00, the girls have to be satisfied with a wage of $12.00. Since no men would enter the field it was found cheaper to hire and keep females.

Most of the shops are in the central business area and the adjacent vicinity. Those outside of this section cannot afford to employ workers and it is necessary for the wives of the proprietors

to assist if there are too many customers. All Japanese shops in the downtown area and Waikiki employ Japanese girls to do the work.

Of the 38 shops, 17 are owned by second generation Japanese all of whom are women. The remaining 21 are owned by the first generation, 15 of whom are women and 6 men. These figures seem to indicate that the barber trade is not only a woman's trade, but also woman's business. They may also indicate that the Japanese woman is taking an increasingly significant place in the world of business, something that was not true earlier in the life of the Japanese in the Islands, and certainly not characteristics of the women in Japan.

Only 9 proprietors actually work in their shops, indicating that they have other activities and that the operation of the shop, the actual work of shaving, hair cutting, et cetera, lies solely in the hands of the employees.

Ninety-eight girls and women are employed by the 38 shops. Fifteen shops employ 2 girls each while 9 shops employ 3 girls apiece. There are 6 shops employing 4 girls to each shop and another 6 shops employing only 1 girl each. Of the remaining 2 shops, one employs 5 girls while the other employs 8. On the other hand, 2 shops employ men also—one using 2 Japanese men and another employing 6 Filipino men.

The study is based on the answers of 87 employees. Eleven did not wish to submit answers.

Perhaps the most conspicuous feature of the barber trade is the intimate contact between the barber girl and the patron. This close contact suggests a high degree of exposure to a variety of cultural and moral influences—influences that may be instrumental in breaking down the cultural patterns of the Japanese group, and in altering the personalities of the girls. It is conceivable that their attitudes towards living may be greatly changed by their coming into such personal contact with members of their own as well as of other racial groups in their work.

The survey reveals that each girl serves from 6 to 30 customers per day, or an average of 13 customers. It also reveals that the girls serve all nationality groups. Among these are the local *haoles*[1], tourists, Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Portuguese, Puerto Ricans, the service men, and the seamen. Twenty-four of the girls stated that all these nationalities came in more or less equal proportions while 14 girls answered that, although they serve every group, the proportion of customers of different races vary, some having more Caucasians, others having more Oriental.

With regard to these contacts it is interesting to note the reactions of the girls to customers—their topics of conversation, their relations with them outside of working hours, if any, and their attitude towards the different groups that they serve. Twenty-six girls noted that the most interesting thing about their work is the meeting of all types of people. Of these two answered that they find "kidding the customers" a most interesting di-

1 Hawaiian term meaning any person of North European ancestry.

version. However, another two answered that talking to "educated or travelled men" is the most interesting feature of their work. Just exactly what these answers mean is of course not known, but they are indicative of some of the values that the girls attach to the contacts that they make.

Another aspect of the trade which effects assimilation is the matter of hours and wages. Until the end of 1938 the girls in barber shops worked from 12 to 15 hours a day, the majority working 14 hours. It was felt by the employers that actually the hours were not too long or arduous since the actual work was concentrated in the afternoon and evening hours.[2] The rest of the day is considered free time for the girls. Most of the girls found these hours too long and too monotonous. There was nothing to do but to read and talk until customers came. When the hours for the commencement and closing of work were fixed by law, in January, 1939 there was a great feeling of relief and gratitude on the part of the girls. Some of them said:

We can stop at 8 P.M. promptly now, because it is decided by law, and no one is allowed to violate it. We don't need to worry about competing with the neighboring barbers, because they have to close their shops too. There is not only the mental and physical relief, but the extra hours in the evening make it possible for us to have recreation and amusement. Shortening of hours was talked about by a few individuals but nothing came of it until now. Only the law can make things practical. We are very happy indeed about the fact that this law came to be.[3]

Obviously with such long hours there would not be much time for dating with their customers even if they were so disposed.

Although the girls have long hours of work their time for lunches and suppers is not increased proportionally. Fifty-two per cent of the girls have no definite time for lunch. Others have periods varying from five minutes to one hour. Most of the girls stated that they have to stop eating whenever customers came. Almost the same situation holds true for supper time. One of the reasons for this is that many of the girls have their meals with their proprietors or bring their lunches to work.

Long hours of work with no definite time for meals is a carry-over from Japan where small business, like the barber shop, is carried on primarily as a family affair—where there are no outside employees except a few apprentices. The family ate whenever it could and worked as long as it was necessary to accommodate customers.

None of the girls work on Sundays. Previous to the enactment of the new ordinance, the girls had from 4 to 12 holidays a year. They now have 9 holidays a year fixed by the ordinance.[4]

2 Seventy per cent of the girls answered that they are busier in the evening than in the afternoon. Others felt that the number of customers depends upon the day of the week. However, the answer holds true for all the shops regardless of their location.

3 According to the new ordinance, the girls are allowed to work from 7 A.M. to 8 P.M. and until 9 P.M. on Saturdays. The new ordinance does not, therefore greatly reduce their hours of working, although it does regulate the time.

4 These are New Year's Day, Washington's Birthday, Kamehameha Day, Fourth of July, Labor Day, Armistice Day, Thanksgiving Day, and Christmas day.

Some of the shops observe the birthday of the Japanese Emperor as a holiday and close their shops.

Wages range widely from $10 to $100 per month, the arithmetic average being $38.44. Seven of the 56 who answered the questions on wages receive between $10 and $20 per month, while 13 earn between $21 and $30 monthly. The greater number of girls, 22, earn between $31 and $40 per month. There are 9 girls earning between $41 and $50 monthly while six girls receive between $51 and $600 monthly. Only one girl earns $100 per month, but the work includes doing housework for the proprietor. There were, on the other hand, twelve girls who receive no wages except board and room. Five of them were the daughters of the proprietors. It is estimated that approximately $20 in addition should be allowed for this source of income in the case of the 54 girls residing with their employers. This obivously affects the general wage scale.

Intimately bound up with the question of wages is the additional income from tips. It was found that many of the girls depend on tips for their personal expenses since they give all or the greater part of their wages to their parents. Sixty-one girls indicated receiving amounts ranging from 70c to $25 per month in tips of from 10c to 15c each. The average was $8.25. Although this practice is unknown in Japan, it is evident that both the employers and the girls accept tipping as a regular supplement to the wages. In addition, 79 per cent of the girls regularly receive Christmas presents or New Year's gifts from their customers.

It is apparent that the girls have neither the leisure time nor the necessary money to cultivate many non-Japanese acquaintances outside of their working hours. Moreover the relations of the girls to their employers and parents provide another set of limits to rapid assimilation.

Forty-three of the 87 girls in this survey indicated that the parents determined the choice of an occupation for them. Parents consider an apprenticeship in barbering a fruitful means of training their children for a profitable trade, as no fees for learning the trade are required, while at the same time they are given free room and board and, in most cases, a small wage allowance. Thus there is no financial burden involved for parents to have their daughters trained as barbers. Eighteen girls replied that they entered the trade through their friends or relatives, suggesting that parents are most likely to enlist the help of friends and relatives in locating suitable work for their daughters. In these cases, although the trade was not selected by the parents, the final decision for entering it was made by the parents. The survey further indicates that fourteen girls are working in their parent's shop, while 8 girls work in the shops of their relatives, including sisters. Thirty girls work in the shops of friends of their parents. Only 17 girls were strangers to their proprietors

What role does the girl who works in the barber shop play in her family? Is she regarded solely as a wage earner, or is she accorded certain privileges because she is able to go out and earn

money for the family? Are these privileges reflected in more freedom for the girls, in more personal spending money, or complete breaking of family ties?

Forty of the 87 girls stated that they turned over all of their wages to their parents. This practice is in conformity with the traditional Japanese idea that everything belongs to the family. Therefore, whatever the daughter earns belongs to the family and is at the disposal of the father to lay aside for his daughter's future use or for family needs. Where the patriarchal family pattern is still effective, the daughter accepts as a natural duty the rendering of her entire earnings to the head of the family expecting only the return to her of a small portion for spending money. There are, however, 30 girls who keep part of their wages for their personal expenses, the amount ranging from $2 to $27 per month. Only three of the 87 girls keep all of their wages.

The significant role of the employer, not only as the source of income and vocational instruction, but more particularly as a substitute for the parent in the discipline and control of the girls is apparent throughout this study. The survey indicates that of the 87 girls, 54 are living with their proprietors' families. Of this number 27 live in the same house where they work. Eighteen commute back and forth to the shops with the proprietors, and 9 live in houses close to the shops. Thirty girls live with their own families and go back and forth to work, while three live with relatives or friends.

The period of apprenticeship varies according to the individual aptitude and ability of the girls. Some of the girls have learned the trade in less than 10 months, while others have taken as long as two years. The period of apprenticeship is considered advantageous to both parents and apprentices, since the girls usually receive tips and free living with the proprietors, along with the instruction in the trade. Moreover they frequently receive useful instruction in cooking, sewing, and household management.

Further evidence of the paternal relation between the proprietors and the girls is provided in the early age at which many of them started their apprenticeship. More than two thirds of the girls began work between the ages of fourteen and sixteen and four were at work before they were fourteen years.[5] This means of course that many of the girls also left school at an early age. Eighty-one per cent of the girls did not go beyond the eighth grade in school. Some left at the end of the second grade. others left after the fifth and sixth years of school. Only two of the girls went as far as the 12th grade. The need of supplementing the family income and the lack of interest in or inability to do school work were doubtless responsible for the early age of apprenticeship. The net effect, however, was to transfer from parents and school to the employers the responsibility for the guidance and discipline of the girls.

The majority of the girls come from conservative homes of

5 The median age of all girls employed as barbers was 21.2 years. Thirty-four were under 20 years and forty-four were between 20 and 25 years of age. Only seven were over 25 years.

very limited economic resources. Most of the homes are in the congested areas of the city while a considerable number are in the country and on plantations. Most of the girls come from large families, 64 per cent of the homes having five or more children and ten percent having over nine children. The fact that 27 per cent of the girls were the eldest in their families is also significant since the old Japanese family pattern lays tremendous responsibilities on the eldest child, among other things, assistance in the economic support of the family as soon as he reaches maturity.

Religious affiliations of the girls similarly suggest a conservative background. Fifty-seven of the girls stated that their religion was Buddhism and that they go to temples on certain ceremonial days, to give offerings and to worship with other members of their family. Three of the girls designated Shintoism as their religion and replied that they went to the shrines on ceremonial days. Only four replied that they were Christians, although they no longer go to church. Twenty-one girls answered that although their family religion was Buddhism, they themselves had no particular religious faith.

In an effort to ascertain the effect of the promiscuous contacts and the nature of the occupation upon attitudes and social outlook of the girls, a series of questions were asked the girls. Most of them find the work at least moderately interesting, ten stating that it is distinctly uninteresting. As stated earlier, the variety of contacts particularly appeal to them. Many of the girls find the long hours and the waiting for customers without anything definite to do very monotonous. Most frequently mentioned among the disagreeable aspects of the work are shaving and massaging, children's haircuts, ear-cleaning, washing the hair, and talking to "silly men."

Evidently most of the girls are experienced in dealing with "fresh customers," the most common technique being to pay no attention, or to tell them to keep their places or get out. Others prefer to joke with them. Some call the policemen and get rid of them quickly. However, the proprietors state that more commonly the girls do nothing to offend them since "customers are customers."

Actually, contacts with the customers tend to be of a social, transient character. Although most of the girls have learned to chat informally, and if necessary to indulge in repartee on off-color subjects, apparently, they do not extend their contacts outside of the shop. One girl out of four indicated that she is asked for dates. Although 76 of the girls indicated that there might be opportunities for marriage to the customers, most of them disapprove of inter-racial marriages and have few friends not of their same racial group. If there were an opportunity for marrying a customer, most would marry a Japanese and no other racial group. Moreover sixty percent of the girls prefer the Japanese to the American wedding despite the tremendous expense involved in the former.

Since the things a person buys are often an indication of the values he holds, they also provide a useful index of his assimila-

tion of the dominant culture. The average barber girl spends $14.04 per month upon purely personal expenses; the remainder of her income goes to her family, and ordinarily covers board and room. The largest single item of her personal budget is $4.28 for savings, suggesting a maximum of old country thrift. The next largest item of $2.35 is spent for clothing, which in terms of the standards of American adolescent girls would appear to be very small. The expenditures for recreation and amusement ($1.07 per month) are largely confined to movies to which they go on an average of four times per month. American influence is apparently responsible for the moderately large expenditure of $1.06 per month for candy, partly perhaps because of the lack of sugar in their predominantly Japanese meals. The "American habit" of chewing gum is also well established. For cosmetics they spend on an average of 92 cents per month, 56 cents per month for gifts, 59 cents for magazines and papers, and 60 cents for doctor's fees.

The smallest expenditure (5 cents per month) is in the field of educational and social activities.[6] The long hours prevent the girls from taking advantage of courses offered by the different agencies in the city or from participating in their programs. None of the girls belong to any other organizations except, in a few cases to their family temples. Labor unions do not exist in the thinking of the girls. Any interest that they might take in them is discouraged by the proprietors. The spare time of most of the girls is spent in doing household chores, in visiting, swimming, fishing, and going to the movies. Others knit or crochet—the only creative activities that occupy their time.

Their reading is largely confined to the sort of magazines found in the shop, including Look, Pic, Click, Life, Liberty, Good Housekeeping, and other home, screen, detective, and story magazines of varying qualities. Forty-four girls stated that they read these publications in different combinations. Thirty-five read over 6 different kinds of Japanese magazines containing stories, histories, hints for homemaking, information about Japanese movies, current news, etc. Many of these magazines are read to pass away the time while waiting for the customers. Very few of the girls deliberately chose their reading. However, much of their knowledge of the world both American and Japanese is gained through such reading. The extent to which this reading influences their attitudes towards their work, themselves and society cannot be ascertained in this exploratory study.

The answers to questions regarding their preference for Japanese or American things are also interesting. All of the girls like Japanese food, but 42 girls replied that they also liked American food. With regard to motion pictures, 51 or 58 per cent of the girls indicated a preference for Japanese movies, 28 for the American pictures, and the other nine like both kinds.

Sixty-five girls stated that they prefer Japanese to American

6 Many of the social obligations of the families are taken care of by the parents of the girls and they, therefore, do not need to expend much money along these lines.

music. In both instances, however, their standard of music is the popular variety commonly presented over the radio, and which is easily learned by the girls.

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The foregoing study of the Honolulu barber girls and the condition under which they live and work suggests five significant points.

1. Receiving only a minimum training in the American public schools, these girls have been definitely limited in their opportunities for experiencing the different aspects of American culture. Because of early conditioning they are particularly responsive to their parents' culture.

2. Because of the long working hours which prevail in the barber trade, contacts with the wider American community is limited to the superficial, touch-and-go relations of the shop and to such experience as can be secured through popular American literature and the movies.

3. The almost over powering influence of the proprietors and the parents have resulted in building up attitudes among the girls which are decidedly Japanese. Due to this factor the girls' relations with their customers remain generally superficial. Looseness of conversation with customers may be accentuated by the fact that such behavior increases business.

4. Judging by their attitudes toward interracial marriage as the ultimate criterion of assimilation, it would appear that Americanization is proceeding slowly.

5. It is probable that owing to the educational and social selection of the barber girls, the mere reduction of the hours of work would seem to increase their contacts with the more superficial and disorganizing aspects of American culture which they now enjoy. Irrespective of the other consequences, the close scrutiny of the proprietors and the present long working hours unquestionably reduce the amount of personal disorganization that one might otherwise expect.

CULTURAL ASPECTS OF CASE WORK IN HAWAII*

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As I try to clarify my thoughts in regard to this subject of culture in case work, I am reminded of a nationally known social worker who had been invited to talk at a conference of social work in a state that was struggling at first-hand with many of the problems on which they were seeking her help. She scrapped the "neat phrases" she had formulated as she saw in this frontier of social work, problems so rooted in the experiences of its people that infinitely more growth could come from within than could be introduced from without. In her own words she "had come to this meeting to talk; perhaps, she feared, to pontificate a little, but she stayed to listen and to learn."

After three years of close association with social work in Hawaii, there is still so much to listen to and to learn that I am afraid I shall be guilty of many "neat phrases" without the accompanying good sense to scrap them. If this discussion provokes further analysis of the premises and problems presented, even though the findings be in disagreement with what is propounded here, perhaps this paper will have served its purpose.

In many ways Hawaii's experiences parallel those of the country as a whole; in other respects they do not. The entire history of the United States reveals a panoramic procession of peoples bringing with them their ways of doing, thinking, and feeling, some of which have survived the transplanting while others have been merged or submerged in the process. In this panorama Hawaii has played a vivid role. As individuals or as groups we seem to attach distinction to the claim that the problems of one's own community are "different," usually with too little insight into the rationalization such a claim provides for our lassitude in working with these differences. At the risk of being thought a protagonist of such a belief, I am going to present as the premise of this article the statement that the problems confronting Hawaii *are* "different"—in degree and extent, though perhaps not in nature, from those ordinarily presented in the practice of social case work on the Mainland.

Hawaii's own volcanic origin suggests an analogy in attempting a description of her social and economic growth. The Hawaiian culture, like the heart of its volcanoes, lived and struggled within itself for centuries until the fascinating red glow of its eruption became visible and attracted peoples from other shores. Each new culture group came in large numbers and covered the islands like the lava flows of old Mauna Kea or Mauna Loa. After each such immigration, there was a process of "settling and cooling" during which the new cultural strata tried to adjust itself to what had gone before it, only to find that before long another cultural flow was encompassing it. Today, Hawaii's cultures like her volcanoes have ceased their frequent eruptions. The integrating process has set in. It is this integrating process which presents to

* This paper was made possible through the helpful contributions of the students in Social Case Work.

social case work a challenging but baffling intensification of the human problems confronting social workers everywhere. In a class in social case work where one meets students from eight major cultural groups, Hawaiian, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Caucasian, Portuguese, Puerto Rican, and Filipino, together with those who present many combinations within these groups, one finds a miniature laboratory for a reflection and study of case work problems.

Rather than approach this discussion through an analysis of the various cultures in relation to particular case work problems, I have chosen to select the more important areas in which social case workers experience difficulty and discuss them in the light of the cultures involved. It must be kept in mind, too, that all of the questions raised here will need to be weighed and interpreted in the light of the varying degrees of cultural liberation.

The fabric of the family, whether that family be Oriental, Hawaiian, or Caucasian, is of primary concern to the case worker in her approach to the problems which the individuals of that family may bring to the agency. In Hawaii the patterns of this fabric may stand out so prominently in outline or be so intricately interwoven that the worker must know her cultures as well as her case work techniques. One question which will be raised again and again in this discussion, but will not be answered, involves not only the role of culture in case work but the part case work plays in the approach to culture. There are those who feel that as we become skillful in the use of our case work tools, we should be able to discern, understand, and treat the factors in a culture which are contributing in any way to the situation presented, whether we are members of that particular culture or of any other. There are those, too, who feel that for the present at least there are many situations here in which appreciation of another's culture and possession of case work skills may not be enough to open the door all the way. Where we are confronted with the problem of the first generation, particularly, language itself often prescribes the need of a worker from the same cultural group. But aside from the language difficulty, one finds in the older generation an observance of customs and etiquette which provide a smoother entree for the worker who is "to that manner born." Assuming the right kind of personal qualities in the worker, the first generation Japanese family will respond more to him if he is Japanese and if he proves himself a member of his culture by such evidences as bowing respectfully and frequently, removing his shoes before entering the house, and patiently submitting to the preliminaries of serving tea or the discussion of commonplace matters before the real reason for the worker's visit is broached. To the young Oriental worker who rejects his culture because of the unhappy conflict it presents to him, however, such formalities may be distasteful and he may be even more unacceptable to the older person than someone from an entirely different culture.

Respect for the wisdom of one's elders is a pattern of the Oriental cultures which makes it difficult for the young Oriental worker to secure personal or family history in his early contacts

with the family. It is offensive even for friends to discuss what appears to be the intimate details of one's life, but it is even more presumptious for a young person to question his elders in regard to such subjects as family finances or marital difficulties. Age itself has such intrinsic meaning for the Oriental that it is hard for the elder person to accept the younger out of his role and what is even more pertinent to case work, it is often hard for the young worker to assume a role other than that defined by his culture. Chinese and Japanese workers say it is extremely hard for them to enter an Oriental home where the cultural values are still paramount and ask, as they need to do, specific questions about finances, health, or family relationships. In discussing the case of a Japanese family where a trained Caucasian worker had been able to secure a complete investigation for relief in the first interview, the Japanese workers felt it would have taken them two or three visits to acquire the same amount of material. This was based on their feeling that if they had sought the information as directly and as comprehensively as the Caucasian worker had done, the family would have felt they were being disrespectful and would have accused them of trying to be "haolefied" in the way they went about things. On the other hand, they felt that a Japanese worker would have gained more about the feeling tones in the family and would have been more aware than the Caucasian worker seemed to be of how the man and woman really felt about their debts and their illness. The philosophy of "saving face," so inherent in the Oriental's thinking, influences his attitudes toward vicissitude and suffering to such an extent that it is difficult for the non-Oriental to sense his true feelings. The Oriental family who has a Caucasian worker excuses his lack of cultural courtesies because he is "haole," but one is inclined to feel, at least with adults, that the polite exterior with which the "haole's" omissions are accepted also serves as a protective fence around the Oriental's innermost feelings—a fence which for the Oriental worker may eventually present an opening but for the "haole" worker may never do so. As our cultures become more and more removed from their original roots and their people accept more completely the Western ways of living there may be less need for emphasis on nationality workers. In some instances, this is already true. Our Chinese culture in its third generation presents fewer hurdles in this respect, but in this interim period of adjustment, social work in Hawaii finds itself in as much of a quandary as many of its practitioners who are caught between two cultures and surrounded by many others.

The varying attitudes toward dependency in these groups is a source of concern to social workers as they try to apply their concepts and skills to the problems confronting them. Familiarity with the background of Hawaiian culture reveals the source of a philosophy which today makes many people characterize the Hawaiian as incurably lazy and lacking in ambition and initiative. Coming from a culture where one enjoyed life because there was little need to struggle and where the essence of life was "to live it and not spend it trying to get somewhere else," the Hawaiian was geared to the needs of his own situation. Now he finds himself surrounded by an imported civilization and expected to show the same drive for achievement and material success as motivates those around him.

The Hawaiian resists regularity of employment. He proves himself a good workman, however, at such transient occupations as that of fisherman, cowboy, stevedore, musician, or lei seller. He cannot adjust easily to work on a WPA project or to the expectation that he should work on a plantation because work is available there. He will run up debts; his generosity and his cultural sense of cooperative living lead him to take on responsibilities of relatives when he is not really able to do so; he may expend his relief check on others; he may succumb to the need of displaying a status he does not have and spend a good share of his relief money on taxi fares or family feasts. He will not plan or save and this, together with the ever shifting size of the family as relatives move in and out, provides a dilemma for the case worker, particularly when he is dispensing public funds and the community is critical of expenditures.

The Hawaiian's attitude toward pensions is entirely divorced from his feeling about relief. He is ashamed to ask for relief, but he considers a pension his right. For years the Legislature of Hawaii has made provisions for individual pensions to Hawaiians on the basis of past service to the Territory on the part of the recipient or someone else in his family. These amounts vary with the degree of sentiment attached to the person involved and continue at a stipulated sum for the rest of his life. This tradition has caused the old Hawaiian to attach a similar claim to the old age pensions as administered by the public welfare organization, but they do not look upon them as relief.

To add to the worker's confusion there is the contrasting picture of Oriental thrift, drive for education, capacity for sustained employment, and willingness to sacrifice immediate wants for future security. The Japanese, Chinese, and Korean attitude toward financial arrangements and indebtedness is of importance to the worker The Japanese *tanomoshi*[1] or Chinese hui are self-initiated financial enterprises into which the man of the family pays a stipulated amount, sometimes for the purpose of saving, but more often with a view to borrowing a sum of money for a particular purpose. The individual who may need several hundred dollars to pay off debts or meet some emergency, suggests that a tanomoshi or hui be organized among his friends and acquaintances. Each member contributes his share of the necessary sum and the man making the original request, or anyone else in the group, may bid for the money. The money goes to the highest bidder and the remaining members profit by the rather high rate of interest. Indebtedness of a family and their concern over it is not an uncommon problem for the case worker, but when it is tied up with group mores and a strong code of honor, it is rarely possible to dissuade the family from using their relief mo-

1 See Ruth N. Masuda, "The Japanese Tanamoshii," Social Process in Hawaii, III, pp. 16-19.

ney to meet this obligation. They prefer personal deprivation to "losing face."

Where dependency does occur in the Oriental family, it may be intensified by the importance which is attached to the role of the father in the home. For the older Chinese or Korean, one's real life ends at the age of 60, and at 61 a new life begins. This event is usually elaborately celebrated by family relatives and friends and the old person is disappointed and humiliated if he is unable to provide a feast. Families will sometimes go heavily in debt to meet this expenditure. At this age, the father may retire and expect his children, particularly the eldest son, to support him even though as the former head of the family, the father may be physically able to work and his children may be in straitened circumstances. Old age should be spent in comfort and leisure, playing cards or chess, reading, discussing current events or visiting friends. This philosophy, while an enviable one, sometimes means denial of educational opportunities to children, resentment on the part of the younger generation who observe a lack of such filial responsibility in other groups, conflict between the son and his wife if, even though married and supporting a family of his own, he is called upon to care for a father who may be very capable of caring for himself. There is less expectancy now on the part of old people that such retirement may be possible, but the sense of obligation on the part of children is still very strong.

In the Portuguese families we find a similar emphasis. It is expected that the boy or girl will stop school as early as possible and go to work in order to supplement the family earnings. This age would be much lower if it were not for the limit defined by law. Full earnings are turned over to the parents. In the Chinese and Japanese families there is great importance attached to the education of children but with the same goal frequently in view—future economic security for the parents, particularly in old age. The Filipino family maintains a strong sense of obligation to its members. Old people are the rightful responsibility of their children and older brothers and sisters hold themselves liable for the support and education of the younger members. Whereas on the Mainland, case workers think more in terms of maintaining the son's or daughter's independence through planning only partial contribution to the family budget, in many instances here such a suggestion would be misinterpreted by the parents and might not even be acceptable to the children themselves. On the other hand, the young son who is breaking away from the parental culture may refuse part or even all of his earnings and the worker is confronted not only with the economic aspects of the situation but the cultural implications as well.

Korea's political and social history has greatly affected the personality development of its people as we see them in Hawaii, particularly with reference to dependency. They are mistrustful of those they do not know and display what we might call aggressiveness when they feel advantage is being taken of them. They have a keen feeling of injustice and are perhaps over-sensitive to

slights or discrimination. Case workers feel that the Korean is demanding in his request for relief and is apt to create more disturbance in the relief office than the people of other nationalities. He finds it hard to reveal his circumstances or to accept plans that are suggested to him and gives the impression of being on the defensive in his contacts with the agency. This attitude would seem to be in keeping with the Korean's general feeling of national inadequacy. It is a part of his defense against further humiliation. A non-Korean worker needs to understand the resistance which may be present in his early contacts with the Korean family, and he may have to spend more time reassuring the family of his sincerity and interest than might be the case in other groups. It is questionable as to whether a Japanese worker would be wholly accepted in a Korean home of the immigrant group where the feeling is still very strong. Where it would be necessary for the worker to make an adjustment in the budget or precipitate some other move not wholly acceptable to the family, the Korean is apt to attribute it to the fact that the worker is Japanese.

Marriage and family relationships are fundamental concerns of the social worker and he needs to be aware of the factors which create them. Attitudes toward marriage vary to some degree in all nationalities and races.[2] In Hawaii the differences in attitude and practice are brought into sharp relief by the necessity of a dual adjustment—that of culture with culture and that of generation with generation in the same culture.

In the older Hawaiian culture, "marriage for the commoner was little more than a social contract. It was customary for husband and wife to separate freely and remarry according to the dictates of temperament, habit, inertia and fancy." Common-law marriages are quite frequent among Hawaiians but many of them give evidence of long-time attachment and assumption of responsibility. Since the imposition of other moral codes in the community, periodic attempts are made by authorities to force legal marriage in these families. It is true, of course, that without legal sanction the wife and children are often penalized because of inability to secure support or inheritance, but case workers have not infrequently been witnesses to the psychological reaction which such pressure exerts. Friction or desertion are sometimes precipitated in a heretofore satisfactory family life. The Oriental with his innate reserve about sex and marriage and the Caucasian with his own conflicting point of view concerning common-law relationships and children born out of wedlock have made life a confusing one for the Hawaiian. The Hawaiian has a great love for children. He likes them whether they are born in or out of the legal ties. He likes them whether they are his or those of a relative or friend. There is no feeling among the Hawaiians against the child who is not legitimate. The shame and disgrace attendant on such a way of living have come into Hawaii via other cultures much as the insect pests which came

2 See also "Studies of Immigrant Families in Hawaii," Social Process in Hawaii, III, p. 49.

attached to the fruits and plants introduced to provide a more abundant way of living for the islands.

In the Oriental family, marriage is the destiny of every son and daughter and the event is planned and consummated with great propriety and the observance of many cultural rites. In the older families marriage was symbolic of the perpetuation of family prestige rather than for individual happiness. Many of our first and second generation Oriental families have mothers or grandmothers who were "picture brides" or for whom marriage was arranged by a matchmaker without regard to the individual's wishes. In 1920, a Korean man weary of his lonely life on rural Hawaii negotiated for marriage with a picture bride who was 17 years of age and fifteen years his junior. The young girl felt no love for her husband and became homesick and despondent. When her husband died five years later, alone and without resources, she allowed a second marriage to be arranged through a matchmaker. This marriage, too, had nothing of love in it and the case worker knowing the family today sees four children who are the targets for a disillusioned mother and a disinterested father. Other marriages of this nature have been accepted by both men and wife as an inevitable part of their culture and there is no thought of rebellion. The younger generation of Orientals are adopting the Western ways of courtship and marriage but not without some cost of their emotional equilibrium. They see a premium placed on being "American" but they experience a sense of guilt in rejecting their heritage. Some intelligently and maturely integrate both cultures; others openly rebel against the restrictions of their own group; still others may align themselves completely with their own culture and remain critical of anything which threatens it.

Mew Lan, a Hawaiian-born Chinese girl, became interested in a Portuguese boy who was her social but not her intellectual inferior. Knowing that this relationship would meet with condemnation from her family, she resorted to deception in her meetings with him. When the affair finally came to the notice of the family, there was consternation. The parents and the older brothers and sisters were adamant in their ultimatum that she give up the boy. Mew Lan's conflict is evident in her own words:

> It is agony to hear my mother say that I am sending her to an early grave. This dilemma I am in of having to choose between culture and the man I care for is driving me crazy. Their advice to me is to give him up or I will ruin the family name. They think only of name. They forget my happiness.

The case worker, a Chinese, defines the older Chinese family as revolving around three major factors in their relationships—filial piety, and an attitude of respect, reverence, and obedience toward one's parents and ancestors; the tradition of seniority within the family where as much respect is due older brothers and sisters as to the parents; and the priority of the welfare of the family as a unit over the welfare of the separate individual. Mew Lan's family demonstrated all of these patterns and her loyalties were

torn between keeping her family's approval and satisfying her own needs.

It is interesting to see how the younger Oriental is making his adjustment to marriage. Frequently the Oriental student will say that in reality the young people select their own mates but maneuver the situation in such a way that the parents wishes are met. Sometimes the matchmaker can be inveigled into suggesting to the parents the name of the very person already the object of the young Oriental's affection and the entire plan is worked through the parents without the young people revealing their part in the strategy. Many times, even where the Oriental has made his own choice of a marriage partner, he will submit to the formalities of his culture in the matter of the ceremony and family feasts connected with marriage.

Inter-racial marriage still creates serious problems in some instances and they are aggravated by the parallel breakdown of so many different cultures. The younger people associate with one another daily in their work, their education, their social activities, and their consciousness of racial lines is far less sharp than that of their parents. It is in this question of inter-marriage that the greatest conflict between the generations occurs. Chinese, Japanese, and Korean parents will often disinherit or ostracize children who marry outside the Oriental group. Generally speaking, the Chinese will accept marriage with the Hawaiians primarily because there has been a long precedent for it.[3]

Within the Japanese race itself, marriage is sometimes influenced by the inferiority of caste. The *Eta* group of Japanese have a political and social history of ostracism that dates back to the early feudal days of the country when they suffered many humiliating legal and social bans, among them marriage only with others of their own group, confinement to their own villages, and restriction from any but the most degrading form of work. Despite edicts of freedom at various periods in Japanese history, the attitude of condescension still prevails among the upper class Japanese. In planning a marriage, family historians are scrutinized for any evidences of *Eta* heritage and the boy or girl who defies his parents by marrying an *Eta* is disgraced in his own family group. Last year Japanese papers in Honolulu carried a story of a suicide pact by two young Japanese caught in the tragedy of caste. While in the past this was the accepted reaction in the Orient, such incidents are rare in Hawaii.

During the first years of their stay in Hawaii, the relationship between husband and wife in the first generation Oriental family was that of authority and prestige for the man while the role of the wife was a secondary one. In the middle and upper classes, she was not considered her husband's equal and there was no thought of companionship. She rarely appeared in public with him and had little opportunity to meet his friends. Among the peasant group there was a greater spirit of comradeship between husband and wife, and a more mutual participation in family affairs. Years of living in a multi-cultural community have par-

3 See Romanzo Adams, Interracial Marriage In Hawaii, 1937, chap. XI.

tially broken down these attitudes and we find a rather general acceptance of more equal relationships. Even though the older Oriental woman feels freer because of these years of association with other cultures, she rarely takes advantage of her freedom. She still recognizes her husband as the undisputed head of the family and prefers to limit her social activities to women of her own group rather than mingle with her husband's friends. In the younger generations much more democracy is apparent but where there is such a clear demarcation of role as exists in the less Westernized family, the case worker finds it difficult to secure a mutual discussion of the problems involved. Often the mother will take no initiative or assume no part in a plan which she feels to be her husband's province. The case worker may have to make several visits before a decision can be reached in regard to plans under consideration. The woman refers the worker to her husband or asks her to come again after the matter has been presented to him. If the problem is one related primarily to the household budget or the children, the man likes to have the initial approach made to him as head of the home, but he then dismisses it as being in his wife's domain and it is difficult for the worker to elicit his continued participation in the working out of these family problems.

In the Filipino family the father is the undisputed head of the family, but the mother remains the dominating factor in the management of all financial affairs. The Filipino wife exercises more control over the family income than does the woman in the Chinese or Japanese home. She receives her husband's earnings and disburses them, even to the point of returning to her husband the amount required for his own expenditures. There is strong family unity, and parental control continues over the children even after they are married.

For the case worker, this shifting scene can be a puzzling one. An Oriental worker who has been raised in a conservative home may find himself, in spite of his effort to be objective, showing intolerance of the free relationships existing in other groups, or many find himself identifying too strongly in the conflict between the younger and older generations in his own group. An intelligent, skillful, second generation Japanese worker whose own bringing up had been more Oriental than Occidental found herself in the position of having to work through with a young Japanese client her hostility to a father who had rejected and condemned her. The worker's own feeling of filial peity was so entrenched that she felt "it was not right for Mitsue to feel that way about her father," and it was some time before she could free her own feelings to the point where she could allow the girl to express hers. It is true, of ocurse, that all of us would have similar areas to bring under control in our preparation for the practice of social work and there is certainly every indication that as the workers in the various cultural groups gain knowledge and experience in the field of social case work, they are increasingly more sensitized to the part their culture plays. The point I should like to make, however, is that for the student or worker

here, the complexity of patterns puts one's understanding and objectivity to a greater test than might be the case in a more homogeneous setting.

Since our chief concern in this matter of cultural adjustment is in relation to the children of our many races and nationalities, it is interesting to see at what points they come into focus.

The Hawaiian's love of children and his heritage of communal living have brought about one of the most intriguing and, from the standpoint of social work, one of the most perplexing customs in the islands. The *hanai* pattern of Hawaiian culture has resulted in some complicated problems for the agencies concerned with child welfare. *Hanai* translated literally means "to feed" and the name applies to the old Hawaiian custom of giving children away at birth.[4] The *hanai* is reared as one's own child, and it is customary for him to receive even more attention than the blood children. No legal procedure was considered necessary as the Hawaiians believed the verbal promise was as good as any law and should not be broken.

This custom has spread to other groups but it does not have the deep cultural significance for them that it has for the Hawaiian. The practice is dying out or is taking on the form of legalized adoption, but many cases known to agencies raise questions as to illegitimacy, inheritance, heredity, and support. Records are unknown in the transfer of *hanai* children and in the case of a child whose adopted parents have died or for some other reason are out of the picture, the children's agency is at a loss to secure adequate information regarding him. What significance the *hanai* experience has for the child emotionally or for the children of the family into which a *hanai* child is received is a question filled with possibilities for study. In many instances the child is in contact with his blood parents and the conflicts which arise as a result of this dual relationship create problems for the child and the case worker. When grandparents become the *hanai* parents, they tend to pamper and indulge the child and if, through death or illness of the grandparents, he is again given back to his parents, the problems of adjustment are numerous. In some instances the identity of *hanai* children has become so obscured through changes in family name or frequent shifting among relatives that brothers and sisters may be under care of the same agency for some time before the skeins get untangled and the true relationships are apparent. When they are, the agency is confronted with the problem of knowing what to do in terms of uniting the family and making the most constructive plans for the adjustment of the children. Occasionally one finds a case which is both dramatic and tragic in its happenings. In the early days when the *hanai* custom was more prevalent, a boy of pure Hawaiian extraction was *hanaied*[5] to a Chinese family and assumed their name. He lived with his adopted family and after married into his own racial group. Of his

4 See article by Charles Kenn in this issue.
5 This illustrates the manner in which Hawaiian terms have been adapted to the use of social workers. (Ed.)

three children, the second, a boy, was given to a favorite aunt. The mother died in giving birth to the third child, a girl, who together with her oldest sister was placed in an institution for care. This was twenty years ago, but today the case worker finds that the brother and sister, unconscious of their blood relationship, have married and are the parents of two children.

It is possible, of course, that the *hanai* pattern has sometimes been used as an escape from one's own responsibilities. James had been *hanaied* by his mother to a friend. When the *hanai* father died, his wife lived in common-law relationship with another man and James took his name. By the time the *hanai* mother was hospitalized for tuberculosis and the common-law husband had abandoned the children, James was a serious behavior problem and already a juvenile court case. When he was referred to the children's agency for foster home placement his own mother was contacted, but she was not interested in the child and refused to assume his support. James is now in a Hawaiian foster home, but it will take a long time to compensate for the emotional deprivation of the past ten years.

While in the non-Oriental groups there is little preference in the matter of the sex of children, in the Oriental family great importance is attached to the birth of a boy child, particularly if he is the first-born in the family. The Japanese family that does not produce a boy loses prestige in the group. One family became known to an agency because the father, although apparently physically strong, declared himself sick and unable to work. There were eight girls in the family but no boys and the man seemed to feel a strong sense of inadequacy because of this. There were no physical findings as a basis for his illness and it was the worker's feeling that his failure to become the father of a boy contributed in some degree to his problem.[6] Not infrequently a son is saddled with family debts, a mortgaged home or the education of younger children and as a consequence has to postpone his own marriage or if he rebels he may bring down on his head the disapproval of his family and relatives and often that of the community.

The relationship between the non-Oriental parent and his child reveals a rather uninhibited manifestation of love and affection, but the immigrant and many times the second generation Oriental parent is reserved and undemonstrative in his manner toward children in the family. As children, these parents have been taught the art of self-control to an extent where they conceal suffering, hurt pride, resentment, or even joy. In the entrance to one of the hospitals one day I noticed two Japanese children of about four and six, both sitting on one chair primly and rigidly. They ignored the many attempts of passers-by to elicit a smile or a response and for the hour and a quarter during which they awaited their mother who was visiting a patient, they did not move, and one suspects they did not even squirm. This is unusual in Oriental children today, but it was the accepted form

6 See also, Emi Yoshizawa, "A Japanese Family in Rural Hawaii," Social Process in Hawaii, III, pp. 56-63.

of behavior for their parents. In general,, Oriental children are less approachable than Hawaiian or Caucasian children. Even though they have parents who are second or third generation, they seem to exhibit a reserve and a reticence in their contacts with adults. Case workers who are concerned with the problems of foster home placement find it very difficult to establish a free channel of expression with the child. Non-Oriental workers especially have felt that it takes them an infinitely longer time to know what the child is thinking and feeling than is the case with children who have less inhibited personality patterns. This whole subject raises many interesting questions from the standpoint of psychiatric treatment of the problems of both children and adults in the Oriental groups. One wonders, for instance, what the child brought up in such an orthodox fashion does with all his resentment and hostility which for the rest of us finds a way out in the very forms of behavior which are denied the strictly brought up Oriental child. The apparent "falsification" of emotion that occurs as an Oriental father smilingly tells of the suicide of his daughter or the death of his wife presents a different picture from the one we are used to in case work. We are apt to misinterpret it if we do not understand it and at the same time we are concerned lest such submergence of feeling is not devastating to the personality as against the release which comes through the temporary giving way to our emotions. The psychiatric approach to the individual has its greatest therapeutic value in the self-inventory which the person, with the help of the psychiatrist or case worker, is able to verbalize. Does the reluctance of the Oriental to talk about himself or to betray his emotions present a need for a further sharpening of our techniques and skills in working with him?

Foster home placement in the sense in which we think of it on the Mainland is a comparatively recent development in Hawaii. The whole subject of family breakdown here is another important area for more comprehensive study, but there are several cultural factors in the process of child-placing which should be brought out here. The filial piety which so strongly marks the Oriental family makes it difficult for them to understand and accept the giving up of one's children for any reason and consequently the number of foster homes in the Japanese, Chinese, and Korean groups have been comparatively few. In one Japanese family both parents had to go to Leahi Home for care and the question of placing the two children was raised. The agency found a good prospective foster home, but after consultation among themselves the family felt that to give the children over to strangers would be to "lose face" as it would indicate failure on the part of the family to manage by themselves. The children were taken by a paternal uncle to live in a crowded, poorly run household which already numbered nine members. The mother in Leahi was upset and preferred to have her children in a foster home, but she recognized the authority of her husband's family and realized the inadvisability of causing family dissension.

Since a Japanese worker, whose appreciation of her parental

cultural heritage is as keen as her aceptance of Occidental ways, has been carrying on a process of interpretation and education in the Japanese community, there has been a noticeable increase in the number of Japanese families who are willing to accept foster children. It is questionable whether interpretation from someone outside their own group would have been effective at this point.

Foster homes are exceedingly hard to find in this community because of the comparative newness of this type of service, and placement of a child in his own racial or religious group is often an impossibility. The Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian foster home offers more of the emotional warmth which the case worker trained in working with Occidental families would feel was essential in a child's adjustment. Foster parents in these groups seem more able to reach out to the child and place fewer restraints on his normal activities. Portuguese foster homes are more numerous in comparison with those in other groups. This may have a two-fold explanation. The young Portuguese foster parent has usually grown up in a large family and is so accustomed to having children around the home that he applies to the agency for children to board until his own family begins or as companions to his growing children. Coupled with this interest in young children is the Portuguese' keen sense of thrift and their desire to supplement the family income through the payments made for foster home care. Chinese workers have made an interesting observation in regard to Chinese foster mothers. One worker describes them as "withholding giving" in their relationship with children, meaning, of course, their inability to give of themselves emotionally in the sense in which we usually think of it. This cultural trait, if it is one, is undoubtedly understandable as resulting from the reserved, unemotional upbringing of the first and sometimes the second generation Oriental parent.

It is easier to place Oriental children with non-Oriental parents than it is to interest an Oriental family in taking a non-Oriental child. Where adoption is involved, there is even greater rigidity in this regard; the Oriental family will not consider a child outside its own race A childless Chinese family will sometimes adopt a child in the hope that as a "good luck" child he will bring them children of their own. Interestingly enough, when the couple's own children do arrive, the adopted child acquires even more status because he has fulfilled the original purpose of the parents in adopting him. When the mother of an Oriental family dies or for some other reason is no longer in the household, it is hard for the father to release his children for care in foster homes or institutions. He does the cooking and housework himself, or expects a daughter in the family, even though she may be fairly young, to assume home responsibilities. In the limited number of instances where housekeeper service has been tried it has not been very successful because of the cultural attitudes toward it. The man is often accused of taking the housekeeper as a "substitute wife" and the community gossips or disapproves to a degree where he is so uncomfortable he gives

up the plan. Yet if he gives up his children to the care of someone else he is also criticized. Finding a housekeeper from the same cultural group is another obstacle in the way of such a plan. Where the mother is still living but is hospitalized, her fear of being replaced in the affection of her husband and children makes her resist such a proposal for the family. As more educational work is carried on by the Oriental workers in their own groups, the more willingness there is to use the services of the child-placing agencies.

Health problems in the family offer the case worker one of his greatest dilemmas, for alien cultural patterns seem to be more operative here than in other areas. The spirit of the Hawaiian *kahuna* still pervades the thinking of many Hawaiians and influences their attitudes toward treatment of medical problems, although the original beliefs are greatly diffused and in many instances appear only in a mild form. Many Hawaiians still have great faith in herbs and vegetable compounds as curing all conditions. Some few may still attribute their illness to the "kahunaism" of an enemy and are convinced that nothing they can do will shake off the sorcery. The legends are so dramatic in content and their prophecies have so often materialized that even an outsider senses the control which such convictions can exercise. Workers have many interesting stories to tell of their attempts to defeat "kahunaism" and again one has the feeling that a non-Hawaiian worker might have less success in handling these situtions. One worker found a client going to a *kakuna* for treatment of a condition which was seriously complicating her pregnancy. For weeks the worker and the nurse had futilely tried to have the woman go to the hospital for an operation. In desperation the worker, who was Hawaiian, visited the *kahuna.* She showed respect for his practice but explained the seriousness of the woman's condition and urged him to help in saving her life. The *kahuna* was persuaded to recommend hospitalization to the woman and at the same time retain her confidence by continuing to prescribe the harmless herbs in which she had such faith. Many Hawaiians who resist medical attention because of their superstitions will respond to the worker's suggestions that perhaps they have both "Hawaiian sickness" and "Haole sickness" and that they need both types of treatment. Thus proper attention is possible without threatening the beliefs which are so much a part of the individual's life. "Cupping," or drawing out the bad blood, is practiced among some of the Oriental groups. The Okinawan group believes in another type of bleeding which takes the form of cutting the back of the sick person and letting out the bad blood. They seem to apply this to rheumatism or other pains in the legs and back. In the villages and outlying districts these practices are much more entrenched and it takes considerable ingenuity on the part of the worker to get something done about a serious health problem without alienating the client.

The attitude of the Oriental toward tuberculosis, insanity, or venereal disease is not only one of resistance to treatment, but

actual concealment of the condition. Any of these forms of illness are considered such a family disgrace that one can understand what motivates the resistance, but it is discouraging to the case worker who sees so many serious implications for the individual and his family. In the case of tuberculosis particularly the family is protective because its discovery is not only a blot on the family name but also limits the chances of marriage for any of the children. Often the Japanese will reject the diagnosis of the doctor and explain their illness as heart disease or some other less objectionable ailment. They seem to have more faith in doctors of their own race and will sometimes return to the Orient for treatment. If the diagnosis of tuberculosis is given them by several doctors, for instance, they resign themselves to it, but they do everything they can to keep their relatives and friends from knowing the true state of affairs. They fight hospitalization in a tuberculosis sanatorium, for that pronounces their condition to the world. They have a dread of any hospital as it is considered by many Orientals as well as Hawaiians as a place in which to die. This fear has often been based on actuality since too many cases of tuberculosis have not reached the hospital until in the final stages. The older Oriental attitude toward Western medical practice is one of suspicion. They associate its practice more often with operations and death than they do with recovery. They prefer the reassurance and cure which they feel comes with worship at the family shrine or in their temples.

Some Oriental workers have pointed out that like the advice of the Oracle of Delphi, the words of the temple priest or the communications from their gods are unconsciously construed by the worshiper in his own way. A second generation Japanese father, for example, explained his refusal to go to the sanatorium on the basis that in his visitation to the temple, he had been told he would be ill for three years but that the disease was not contagious and would not be injurious to his family. He clinched his argument by revealing the fact that if he went contrary to the advice given, the god would return to Japan. Such rationalization of one's fears through religion is a difficult thing for the case worker to meet. It calls for an appreciation of the underlying cultural motivations but it also calls for an accompanying knowledge of case work skills. In this instance, the first worker with the family had neither. She was so disturbed by the seriousness of the man's condition and her inability to persuade him to do anything about it, that she forced him into an even greater need to protect himself through his religion by making the granting of financial assistance dependent upon his willingness to go to the hospital. His resistance increased and his religious interpretations became more persistent. The second worker, although not an Oriental, sensed the cultural significance of the problem and was able to meet the resistance where it really was—in the man's fear of death and family separation. She demonstrated her willingness to provide security for the family by granting financial assistance first and with that assurance the man

had less need to use his culture as a defense against a plan which for the time being he could not accept.

Even after patients are hospitalized, the case worker's difficulties may continue. It is hard for either the Hawaiian or the Oriental groups to understand long-time treatment. They seem to accept hospitalization or surgery fairly readily if it means quick recovery, but if the illness involves a long hospital stay, the patient often leaves or his family may insist on removing him against advice. This is more frequent in tuberculosis than in other illnesses. Sometimes the younger members of the family are willing to accept Western medicine, but they are influenced by the deeper cultural beliefs of parents or relatives. In these instances, the worker has the task of working with the entire family. In the Oriental groups a family council, including all relatives, is frequently called for the purpose of deciding such important matters as hospitalization, marriage, educational plans, or placement of children.

A young Japanese girl had been committed to Queen's Hospital for observation and it was the medical social worker's responsibility to persuade a resistive family that the girl needed treatment in a mental hospital. The worker, a Japanese, knew the importance of such a decision to the entire family and consented to meet with them as a group. The girl's husband, his parents, and the girl's uncles, since her parents were still in Japan, were present. The family had felt the girl to be under the influence of a sorcerer and had taken her from one "Meishin" to another in the hope that a cure could be effected through prayer. The verbatim report of this case worker's interview with the family, which culminated in their willingness to have the girl committed, illustrates both cultural and professional finesse It would not have been enough to convince the girl's husband. The entire family had to understand and accept the plan. Judging from the close adherence of this family to their cultural patterns and the reserved aloofness with which they had met all previous interpretations of doctors and workers, one feels that only a Japanese worker could have interpreted the problem so effectively. Family consultations are diminishing as the various groups imitate and assimilate the family independence of the Western world, but the custom is still one to be reckoned with even in the Hawaiian group where despite family disintegration, relatives play an important part in family decisions. The place of the client in his own family group and in his racial unit is an important one in Hawaii. In reality we find ourselves in the very center of a process which case work throughout the country is "backing up" to have another look at—the client in relation to his total milieu.

SOME HAWAIIAN RELATIONSHIP TERMS RE-EXAMINED

CHARLES W. KENN

Disorganization appears to be the keyword which describes the status of present day Hawaiian family life. This impression is gained from a cursory observation of the situation. However, upon closer scrutiny, one finds important elements of the ancient culture still functioning, and the Hawaiians' attitudes toward them very positive. The importance of understanding the old Hawaiian family system insofar as it persists today can scarcely be over-estimated. Especially is this true for social workers who are daily confronted with questions of policy involving the older order.

In a previous number of this journal*, an article described a few of these customs that have *died hard.* In this brief article, an effort will be made to further interpret and clarify these customs.

Such terms as *ohana, hanai, hookama, ohua,* and *punalua,* which are among those most frequently encountered by the social worker, can only be understood in the light of the old cooperative principle of Hawaiian life known as *lima-lau,* literally, "many hands." The *ohana* consisted of members of a clan related by blood and tracing descent from common ancestors. This was the unit of organization, and may be referred to as the "large family." At the head of this organization, there was the *Alii-nui,* or high chief. The Hawaiians did not think of their leaders as"kings" in the western sense, but more on the order of a patriarch as in the Orient.

This large unit was composed of smaller groups made up of those directly related to each other and having common parents. These smaller groups were commonly referred to as *ohana-pono-i,* literally "one's very own relatives or immediate family." It has been stated that the Hawaiians had no term for family in the modern American sense and that the nearest approximation was the word *ohua,* which Andrews describes but excluding the parents. *Hanai* has been defined as "foster child, one taken into the family and raised as a member thereof." According to Handy, quoted by Glick, "relationship in formal adoption was indicated by modifying the word for "parent" or "child" by "made-child" (*hookama*). The fostering relationship was indicated by "feeding" (*hanai*); thus, *makua hanai,* means "foster parent." Glick continues: "a child might be made *hookama* without coming to live with the adopting family, in which case the adopting parents would not be *makua hanai.* On the other hand, any waif taken in and fed and thus becoming a part of the *ohua* (household) referred to the parents in the household as *makua hanai.* We know little more about the system then that it exists, although we hear nothing of the first type of adoption of the hookama."

In early Hawaiian traditions, the *Alii-nui* or leige-lord was

* Doris Lorden Glick, "Problems of Culture in Social Work in Hawaii", Social Process in Hawaii, III, pp. 8-15.

referred to by the people as their *hanai* and they, in turn, were his *ohua.* The *ohua* were designated as either *hoaaina,* tenants placed upon the land by agreement, or *kupa,* hereditary tenants. The word *hanai,* to the Hawaiians, meant more than just "the fostering relationship." It implied "a sympathetic embrace toward one, whose very existence depended upon that embrace."

In giving a child away, usually at birth, in order that the child might become attached to the new parents, the mother would utter the following words, "*make a ola, kukae a naau,*" designating "the child is yours, never to be returned." If, after a time, the original parents (*makua pono-i*) wished the child to be returned to them, then the Hawaiians believed that since faith had been broken, the child would die. If, however, the child returned of his own accord, then he was referred to by the foster parents as "*kukae ka ka hanai,*" the appelation given to "an ungrateful and unappreciative child, after all the care and attention that had been given to it." Children were often promised before birth, especially by one sister to another if the second had no children of her own, and especially if it was asked for. The Hawaiians believed that to refuse such a request would bring bad luck to the child throughout life.

The foster child became a part of the new household (*ohana*) if the foster-parents were also blood relatives; otherwise, it remained a part of the *ohua,* or those that were attached to the household unit but not related in any way blood to the *akana,* or family proper. The Hawaiians were very careful as to the parentage of a *keiki-hanai* or foster-child and did not "foster indiscriminately" as is often believed.

Household guests not related to the family proper, were referred to as *ohana makamaka.* They were allowed to share with the family whatever it had to offer, and were different from the *ohua* in that they were not compelled to do any work. They became the *aialo,* privileged to eat at the same eating place as the *ohana.* This was a high honor bestowed upon the guest in ancient Hawaii. The outgrowth of this practice has come to be called "calabash" relationship, in which one family claims relationship to another because in the past, their common ancestors ate together out of the same calabash of poi. A guest in a Hawaiian household today is still referred to as *ohana makamaka* (a face-to-face relative).

Today, there is often indiscriminate adoption without knowing the background of the child. It is likewise a common practice today to have the grandparents (*kupuna*) foster the children. This is a carry-over from ancient times, as the grandparents were said to have more time on their hands, and more experience. This practice gave the young parents more time in which to perform their everyday tasks.

The term *hookama,* designating "legal adoption" in our modern terminology, is not clearly understood as to its ancient usage as witness the statement of Glick. This form of relationship existed in order to retain the power in a ruling house, and, most important of all, to keep the blood undefiled and so to perpetuate

this *mana* or psychic force in the clan. If a chief had no direct heir, he adopted one, but in doing so he had to choose from the closest of kin, children of his brother or sister only. In making a child "*hookama*", he passed on to it all the prerogatives, rights, and privileges of his own high position, in order that it might succeed him to leadership. In the case of the *hanai* relationship, even in the same family, the rights of the fostering parent or parents are not necessarily transmitted to the *keiki-hanai*, or foster-child. *Hookama* literally, "to cause to be made" is in essence, an elevating instrument. This form of adoption was also used in another way. For example, two brothers of royal birth might choose mates. The elder, designated as *haku* and therefore possessing the right of leadership in his own generation let us say married a woman of low caste. His son, if born before that of his brother, became the *haku* within the new generation. If the younger brother married a woman of high caste and his son were born after his brother's son, this child, being younger, paid respect to his cousin. But, his grandparents, in order to give this second boy a higher place in his generation, might adopt him and thus bestow upon him all the rights and privileges enjoyed by themselves. This act immediately placed the boy on the same social level as his father, becoming, as it were, his father's brother. Although the son of the older brother was still the *haku*, the son of the younger brother automatically became the leader in his generation. This is done to retain the blood purity. Today, it is done, not for purity of blood, but for economic reasons.

The *punalua* relationship is seldom understood today. In ancient Hawaii, there were two interpretations. The first designated the relationship between a man's younger brothers and his wife, or that between a woman's younger sisters and her husband; the second designated the unfaithfulness of either marriage partner. In the first instance, the relationship worked only one way; while it was alright for a woman's spouse to take any one of her younger sisters to himself, or for a man's wife to take to herself the younger brothers of her husband, an older sister could have nothing to do with her younger sister's husband, and likewise, an older brother could not touch his younger brother's wife.

Today, the term is used more as one of disrespect, as "a rival," or as "indicating unfaithfulness to one's own." The term usually used is *manuahi* (meaning "extra"), as *wahine-manuahi*, a female paramour; *kane-manuahi*, a male paramour. The word *kaikoeke* means "an in-law", as *kaikoeke-wahine*, sister-in-law, and *kaikoekoe-kane*, brother-in-law. The Hawaiians have a saying as follows: "*O ke kai, ka hale ia e ka puna; o ka puna, ka hale ia e ke kai*," meaning, literally, "The sea is the home of the coral; the coral is the home of the sea." The real meaning denotes a play on the word *kai* for *kaikoeke*, and *puna* for *punalua*. An interesting development of the *punalua* relationship, somewhat akin to the levirate among the Hebrews was the obligation of

younger brothers or sisters to marry the mate of an older deceased sibling.

The *hanai* or fostering of children is practiced extensively among the Hawaiians today, in most cases, regardless of blood relationship. Not infrequently the social worker hears the statement, "I gave my first child to my younger sister, because she did not have one of her own, and it was promised to her before birth." Households have been broken up because of lack of understanding, as the following case will reveal:

Upon the death of his wife, the client's child had been turned over to its grandmother. The child grew up with the knowledge and belief that its grandmother was its own mother. One day, the client came to his mother's home, and demanded the child. His mother told him of the Hawaiian saying, "Kukae ka ka hanai," implying that after she had undergone so much toil and labor in order to bring up her moopuna or grandchild as her very own, the child is grossly ungrateful and unappreciative to want to go with its father. Literally, the phrase used by the client's mother means, "the foster-child is indeed like dung," which was interpreted by the father as an insult to his child.

The *hookama*, or legal adoption of children is carried on today, not so much to preserve status, but rather to insure economic security.

A client's wealthy mother had legally adopted her elder daughter's children, which action placed them on the same level as her own children, enjoying the same income as provided by law. Her son wished to get married and thought that since he was her own son, he should receive a higher monthly allowance than his adopted brothers and sisters. He could not see why his sister's children should receive as much as he did.

The *punalua form* of relationship, especially the modern version in which one partner is unfaithful to the other, is widespread in Hawaii. Social workers are familiar with the type of client who, although legally married to one woman, lives in a common-law relationship with another woman. The Hawaiians refer to the relationship of the two women as *punalua*.

However, not very many social workers are familiar with the following type of situation!

When one of my clients was fourteen years old, his father requested him to live with an older brother who was married. Not long afterward, the older brother died, and the father lay down the law that the younger brother must marry his brother's widow, or live with, and care for her. She is very much older than he is, and they do not seem to be able to get along. Neither care to marry the other, let alone live together, but the 81 year old father who owns the home has spoken. When he was approached as to the reason for his stubbornness in this situation, he replied, "it is the custom among the Hawaiians that a man's younger brother marry his widow so that she be taken care of for the rest of her life, even if they both cannot get along together. I have given them a home in which to live, and it seems to me that they should make the most of it." This client goes out with other women around his age, and when his brother's widow hears about his activities,

she flies into a rage.

Many more examples may be cited, but the few already mentioned are sufficient to illustrate the varied forms of relationship among Hawaiians which still persist and confront the social case-worker in Hawaii.

In ancient Hawaii, the above forms of relationship made for unity and solidarity; today, they make for apparent disorganization.

THE HAWAIIAN KINGDOM, 1778-1854

RALPH S. KUYKENDALL

(The University of Hawaii, Honolulu, 1938)

A comprehensive, chronological picture of the effects of Western civilization upon the culture and social organization of a primitive and backward Hawaiian race can be seen in this well-documented and carefully prepared history of pre-Republican Hawaii.

At the time of the arrival of Captain James Cook at Waimea, Kauai, on January 18, 1778, the Hawaiians were practicing a simple agricultural economy and were organized politically under a feudal autocracy sustained by a rigid, ceremonial code—the *kapu* system. The latter was a system of rules which regulated in minute detail the lives of people in the different classes of society and gave religious sanction to the subordination of the lower to the higher, thus helping to maintain an aristocratic type of government and a caste system.

The discovery of Hawaii precipitated the contact with European cultures whose impact upon the indigenous people brought disastrous biological and social changes. The *kapu* system was abolished in 1819, paving the way for the arrival of Christian missionaries. The introduction of diseases, the exploitation of human labor in the early sandal-wood and whaling industries, and the breakdown of their social organization, contributed to the decline in the native population.

By 1840 the Hawaiian race was dying out and, and succeeding in its place was a growing number of mixed-bloods.—I. M.

THE ASSIMILATION OF THE JAPANESE AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

BERNARD K. YAMAMOTO

Whenever a group of people leave their homeland to settle in a foreign country, the general tendency is for them to remain as a homogeneous group outside the native culture. So too the Japanese who have come to Hawaii have continued to live together in ghetto-like communities of remarkable social solidarity. However, owing to the assimilative process that has been going on for the past several decades those Japanese ghettos are slowly changing their character. They are losing their homogeneity. Coincident with this change, has been considerable personal disorganization of which indices are found in the slowly mounting police reports of crime and delinquency. Ecological invasion of the Japanese neighborhoods by American institutions, the conflict of cultures necessarily brought about by such an invasion, and the breakdown of control have contributed to the disorganization of the individual Japanese.

Hawaii has been for several decades the home for many Japanese[1] whose social organization has remained remarkably intact until the present. The fact that those Japanese tended to group themselves into strong, well-knit communities of their own helped to bring about favorable adjustment of their individual members to the Hawaiian environment, and thus at first prevented the disorganization of their group.[2]

There were however, a few Japanese who settled more or less indiscriminately among the different racial stocks of Hawaii. Owing to their minority situation in a heterogeneous environment, where the American-Hawaiian culture was predominant, these Japanese suffered a breakdown of their own culture; and as a consequence disorganization set in quite early.[3]

The contrasted situation of the Japanese ghetto on the one hand, and the scattered individual Japanese families on the other had been revealed in a study of the distribution of Japanese delinquents over the city of Honolulu in 1928. It was found that districts of residential concentration of Japanese showed little Japanese delinquency, whereas the reverse was true of communities with only a few Japanese scattered among other cultural groups.[4]

But changes are taking place in the Japanese community and the controls which it exercised a decade ago in repressing juvenile delinquency are proving less effective today. First of all the areas of high Japanese concentration are being invaded by different racial groups of Hawaii.

The Japanese and Other Caucasians alone have maintained their

1 The Japanese population of Hawaii in June 1938 was 153,639 of whom 31.69 per cent were first generation. The Japanese constituted 37.33 per cent of the total Territorial population in 1938.
2 See Andrew W. Lind's "The Ghetto and the Slum", Social Forces, December 1930, pp. 206-215.
3 Ibid., p. 213
4 Ibid., p. 211.

numerical supremacy in several sections of the city, but even they are not disposed to resist the invasion of other population groups.

The decline of the racial ghetto presages the decline of immigrant institutions and values. When Japanese, Portuguese, Filipinos, Hawaiians, haoles, and Chinese live side by side in the same block or lane, the immigrant customs and loyalties are doomed. In the slum sections, mingling of ethnic stocks frequently implies a state of social disorganization and is associated with vice and crime; while in the better residential areas it is an index of the stage achieved in the competitive struggle for status in the American community.[5]

The very persistence of areas of solid Japanese settlement in which the Old Country mores are rigidly enforced may contribute toward the personal disorganization of its members. For however valiantly the older generation in these Japanese ghettos may seek to maintain their old ideas and habits, if the husbands must go to work outside, the wives to shop in town, the school children to attend the heterogeneous public schools, and high powered salesmen are permitted entry into these ghettos to sell distinctly American objects, the Old Country values are bound to suffer and the children are likely to be torn between two moral codes.

Where the Japanese child is under compulsion to accept contradictory teachings and opinions from his elders, from the public school teacher on the one hand, and from his parents and his language school teacher on the other—there one may reasonably expect uncertainty as to conduct and misbehavior according to either code. In a study of the effect of Japanese moral teachings on the Americanization of citizens of Japanese ancestry, Hayashida found that there was a marked difference in the scoring of character traits by public school teachers and by language school instructors. The traits selected by the Japanese students were apparently intermediate between those of the American and Japanese teachers.[6] The public school teachers consider such traits as honesty, reliability, and self-control as being important; and such traits as filial piety, contentment, and humility as being irrelevant,[7] whereas the Japanese regard filial piety as basic to all others.

Where the Japanese child comes from an especially rigid Japanese community, a community which clings tenaciously to the Old Country customs and mores, the chances of his desires being thwarted are great. His contacts are frequently with children from areas where the moral controls are more flexible and he resents the restrictions which his old-fashioned parents impose. A 15 year old Japanese boy when questioned as to why he had committed a theft replied:

They (parents) think they're too good. I like haole movies too.

5 Andrew W. Lind, An Island Community, (Chicago, 1938). p. 311.
6 Akiyoshi Hayashida, Japanese Moral Instruction as a factor in the Americanization of Citizens of Japanese Ancestry, A Master's Thesis. The University of Hawaii, 1933, p. 38. 813 Japanese students at Kalakaua Intermediate School (a public school in Honolulu) were tested. Hayashida's character test was composed of character traits selected from a list compiled from a study of language school textbooks and from a list by Charles E. and Edith G. Germaine, Character Education, New York, 1929.
7 Ibid., p. 22.

But instead, if I wanna see a show, they tell me I must see those dead Japanese movies.

A 14 year old Japanese girl, who had come to the notice of probation officers because her parents had reported that she was unmanageable, expressed herself in the following vein:

Sa-chan (one of her girl friends, whose parents were born here and who understand the position of their child) is lucky. Her mother let her do what she wants. She even let her go to the school dance. I wish my mother had been born here.

The Japanese child rebels against the uncompromising attitude of his parents, and he has not learned to assume their position in the conflict.

On the other hand, the inability of Japanese parents to adequately interpret the meaning of the customs, ethics, institutions, and ideals of the Old Country to their children is recognized by local probation officers as one of the major contributing factors in the increase of the Japanese delinquency rate in Honolulu. The Japanese child who fails to comprehend the teachings and beliefs of his parents is necessarily placed in a marginal position requiring a standard of conduct which is acceptable on the one hand to his parents and on the other to the native American culture. In many cases this situation results in behavior which is acceptable to neither.

Inadequate knowledge of the Japanese language by the children and of English by the parents has proven to be of considerable significance in the undermining of family rapport.

When parents, because of their limited knowledge of English cannot understand their children, the latter have the tendency to become impatient and call them "ignorant" or "dumb". In view of the patriarchial pattern of the Japanese family, based on filial piety, such conduct on the part of children becomes demoralizing to group unity and respect.[8]

A Japanese boy of 17 years of age, who was declared delinquent by the Juvenile Court revealed a social case history which was marked by parental misunderstanding and misguidance. His parents could not appreciate his desire to participate in American social dancing.

The boy's parents are language school teachers. Neither speaks English. Although his relations with his father are reported good, the parents have Old Country ideas of discipline and conduct and it is likely that the boy has been repressed.

Clinical findings on the case reveal that the boy possesses superior intelligence.

The boy is very conscientious about his studies, being alone most of the time. At the time he had committed the offense (he had entered a haole's home with the intention of having sexual intercourse with one of the girls of the family) he was not a member of any club. He has found it hard to make social contacts, particularly with girls. His mother objected to his learning to dance. He seems to be at least partially of the "shut-in" personality type.

Despite his parents' rigid treatment, the case indicates that he

8 Iwao Mizuta, "Changing Attitudes Towards the Japanese Language in Hawaii, Social Process in Hawaii, 1938, P. 44.

received good training in Japanese customs at home.[9]

According to the head matron of the Detention Home in Honolulu, many Japanese juveniles get into difficulty with the court because of their obstinate insistence upon American things.

Case one is a 15 year old high school girl. She told the head matron that her parents absolutely refused to permit her to go to dances, football games, or even to American movies. She had come to the notice of Juvenile Court authorities for going with a Hawaiian youth.

Case two is a girl 17 years of age who was brought by her highly indignant father to the Detention Home, because she told him that she wished to marry a Portuguese. She felt that she had the right to marry whomever she wished.

Out-marriage is of course a serious offense in a Japanese community and the opposition of Japanese parents to out-marriage of their children cannot be over emphasized.[10] The following is an extract of a case taken from the files of the Juvenile Court:

This case is a 17 year 7 months girl. She became illigitimately pregnant by a Chinese boy of 21 years of age. She has known him for about a year and at present is living with his parents.

Her family absolutely refuse permission for their marriage because of the nationality barrier. The boy's parents are fond of her and are making no objections.

The girl originally left home because her father beat her. Her parents are old-style Japanese, non-citizens.

She makes a good impression. She tries hard to do everything that was asked. She apparently tries hard to look nice; she had a permanent wave in her hair and was wearing a pink rayon blouse.

She said that she left school because she could not graduate with her friends. She had wanted to take nurses' training.

The girl states that she has always been fond of her family, although she has quarreled with her father on many occasions. She says her mother was a picture bride and both parents are very much opposed to the modes of modern young people and especially are they incensed against the boy on account of his being Chinese.

The mother seems very disturbed about her daughter and says neither she nor the girl's father will consent to the marriage.

Japanese communities which formerly had no delinquents or at best a slight rate of delinquency are giving evidence of increasing disorganization. The boys' advisor at McKinley High School has noticed the rise of truancy and gambling among Japanese high school students of Lower and Upper Manoa and Sheridan districts, areas of high Japanese concentration. Similarly it is reported that out of fifteen Japanese truants at Kalakaua Intermediate school during the school year 1937-38, 13 boys came from Kalihi-uka, another Japanese ghetto.

Thus the disciplinary influence of the alien culture upon the second generation is slowly breaking down before the secularizing and individualizing force of the expanding American-Hawaiian culture.

9 This case is taken from the files of the Juvenile Court, First Circuit, City and County of Hawaii.

10 See Emi Yoshizawa, "A Japanese Family in Rural Oahu," Social Process in Hawaii, III, 1937, pp. 58-59.

CULTURAL FACTORS OF DESERTION IN HAWAII

CAROLINE LEE

Like all pioneer regions in which the family has not become firmly rooted throughout the population, Hawaii faces an acute problem of family desertion. As in the areas of older, more stable settlement, desertion in Hawaii is doubtless a normal pattern—"the poor man's divorce"—the easy way out of a distasteful marriage relationship. But desertion has unquestionably been accentuated in the Islands by factors which are peculiar to the local situation. Social workers and students of the local social scene are agreed as to the gravity of the problem; but evidently up to the present they have been too deeply engrossed in the task of dealing with the social consequences of desertion to devote much time to either measuring its extent[1] or seeking its special causes.

The following statement, based upon personal observations, interviews with social workers, and an analysis of the records of social agencies, is intended to focus attention upon some of the special factors which contribute to desertion in Hawaii. It is hoped that others with more extensive experience in the field may subsequently amplify the account. The special significance of the following contributing factors in Hawaii's problem of family desertion will be emphasized in this article: 1. the native Hawaiian pattern of culture and the nature of relations between the yearly white visitors to the islands and native women; 2. the peculiar cultural traditions within various of the immigrant groups; 3. the interracial situation; and 4. the abnormal sex ratios of large groups of the Island population. It is not assumed that any one of these factors alone or all of them together are responsible for any specific case of desertion. Rather these factors loom large in the total picture of desertion in Hawaii.

While the early Hawaiians did not merit the accusations of immorality frequently directed against them by early white visitors, it is true that their conception of family responsibility was different from that of the invading whites. Obligation was primarily to the larger kinship group (*ohua*), thus tending to make less important ties within the immediate natural family unit. The term *haalele*, which seems to encompass both abandonment and mutually agreed upon separation, was a term of accepted usage. Among the natives of an earlier period it was the custom for husbands and wives to separate freely and without formality when they were dissatisfied. Most accounts seem to indicate a considerable degree of freedom in the relationship of men and women as well as the absence of strict obligations toward the family. Handy, an authority on Hawaiian culture and society, comments on the freedom of sex and marriage relationship:

1 No comprehensive statistics could be secured as to the extent of the problem in the community.

. . . but this is not to say that promiscuity prevailed. Mating in general was distinctly an individual affair determined fundamentally by and dependent upon personal affection. In both pre-marital and post-marital relationship between men and women the chief rule was that of fluidity . . . constancy was a matter of affection or dependence, not of rule or kapu.[2]

The consequences of desertion and separation in the early Hawaiian system were seldom drastic or disrupting to either the individual or the community. Remarriage was expected and almost inevitable. Under the prevailing family system, where the natural family seldom existed as a unit, but rather as part of the larger household of kinsfolk, children probably suffered little disorganization as the result of the separation of their parents. They might continue to live without change in the same household under the control and authority of the functional head. The *hanai* or adoption system which was universally practiced also served to minimize obligations toward the children as they were readily adopted by foster parents.

There is good reason to expect such conceptions to survive despite a century or more of competition with other standards of family relations. Reports of social agencies note the absence of divorced men or women among their older Hawaiian clients, but indicated that desertions and separations more than compensate.

Dr. Romanzo Adams points out that Hawaiian separations were further accentuated as a result of the general social disorganization that followed the coming of the foreigners.[3] Although a number of the foreign or *haole* residents in Hawaii prior to 1850 entered into permanent and responsible marriage bonds with native women, still it can be surmised from early records and accounts that countless other foreign men, including traders and sailors, formed casual unions with Hawaiian women which presisted only as long as the foreigners remained in Hawaii. This transient pattern of family life, including the careless desertion of the native wives and children, has apparently been extended by the frontier nature and high mobility of the male population throughout the subsequent history of Hawaii.

The coming to Hawaii since 1850 of a steady stream of peoples from many parts of the world, with varied and conflicting moral standards, and their mingling here under strange and unfamiliar economic and social conditions has resulted naturally in considerable personal and social disorganization, of which desertion is merely one expression. It can be seen as arising from two aspects of the racial situation, namely: interracial contacts and interracial marriage; and certain traditions and conditions within the racial groups themselves. The operation of these factors is suggested in the following table:

2 E. S. Handy, Cultural Revolution In Hawaii, p. 8.
3 See Romanzo Adams, Interracial Marriage In Hawaii, 1937.

Although this sample is limited to families receiving assistance from one social agency, it is believed that the results are indicative of the total situation.

TABLE I. RACIAL ANCESTRY OF CASES OF DESERTION RECEIVING TREATMENT FROM THE HONOLULU SOCIAL SERVICE BUREAU, 1934

Race of Husband	Race of Wife: Hawaiian & Part-Hawaiian	Portuguese	Puerto Rican	Spanish	Other Caucasian	Chinese	Japanese	Korean	Filipino	Others	Total Husbands	Ratio Per 1000 Married Men
Hawaiian & Part-Hawaiian	10			1							10	3.03
Portuguese	2	17		2						1	20	8.96
Puerto Rican			23	2						1	26	69.15
Spanish				2							2	21.74
Other Caucasian	10	7	2	1	6	1				1	28	5.20
Chinese	1					5					6	1.61
Japanese							8				8	.92
Korean								1			1	2.36
Filipino	1	2	2						7	1	13	14.25
Others & Unknown	2	1	1							1	5	
Total Wives	26	27	28	6	6	6	8	1	7	4	119	4.73
Ratio per 1000 Married Women	5.92	10.32	70.89	46.15	1.40	2.40	.96	2.61	12.87			5.03

Certainly the most striking fact revealed by this table is the high incidence of Puerto Rican desertions among whom the tendency appears almost to have become an established tradition. The masses of the Puerto Ricans have accepted alike common-law marriage and its ready dissolution through separation or divorce.[4] Moreover, the limited size of this group, which makes cultural control difficult, and a low income status which precludes expensive divorce proceedings, are factors which accentuate the deeply rooted tendencies of the Puerto Ricans toward desertion. The following case reveals a picture of desertion and personal disorganization quite typical of this group.

The history of Mrs. S., a Puerto Rican woman of about thirty, whose case was handled by one of the local agencies, showed that she had been deserted when she was quite young by her Puerto Rican common-law husband. She married a white man and four years later became separated from him. She claimed that he had deserted her while he in turn said that she had left him of her own accord, taking his child with her. She did not obtain a divorce from him though she subsequently had relations with various other men. Altogether she has had children by three different men.

The high ratio of desertions involving both Portuguese men and women is somewhat surprising in view of their nominal Catholicism, according to which the family is a sacred institution. Perhaps among them desertion is a less public and formal announcement of an intolerable marriage relationship than divorce, and one which is less likely to incur group disapproval. There is evidence in the table too of the frequency of unions between Portuguese women and *haoles*, presumably service men, which end in desertion. Again desertion may be a reflection of the disorganization that is inevitable with the slow secularization of this racial group from the former effective control of the church.

The Japanese reveal the lowest ratios of desertion in proportion to their population, a reflection no doubt, of the effective group and family control. When desertion does occur in the Japanese family it appears to be the consequence of an unsuccessful picture bride marriage or of the gradual moral emancipation of immigrant wives who employ desertion as the simplest overt gesture of rebellion against unquestioned submission to an autocratic husband.

A Japanese woman, 45 years old, deserted her 57 years old husband and a family of eight children, five of whom were dependent on her care. The couple came to Hawaii together in 1916 as immigrants. When the woman deserted her family in 1938 she stated that it was just the climax of twelve years of dissatisfaction and "trouble", which she could no longer bear. Case workers cited the reasons for her action as arising out of a situation of conflict between husband and wife, chiefly over financial troubles. Seasonal employment and gambling on the part of the husband were two factors contributing to their separation. The husband was reluctant to give her money for household expenses the woman claimed, he made a scene and resorted to cruel behavior each time she asked for money. She greatly resented the

4 Kum Pui Lai, "Fifty Aged Puerto Ricans", Social Process, II, pp. 24-27.

fact that the head of the household demanded the wages of the three older children who were working; she felt that they should be entitled to keep their own earnings.[5]

When this woman left her family it was apparently a drastic decision for her as she had to leave eight children who still depended on her, and whom she did not want to abandon to their stubborn and quick tempered father. However, she was firm in her determination not to return despite the pleas of the man, a go-between engaged by him, and her many friends, who all attested to the excellence of her character. Finally, the pleas of her children and persuasion of friends and relatives caused her to return, but she stated that it was primarily for the sake of the children that she did so. Her judgment of her husband was still that he was immature and autocratic.

While the Chinese rate of desertion is not high at present a consideration of the earlier immigrant background of this group reveals some interesting developments. The factor of primary importance fifty years ago was the philosophy and attitude of the Chinese men of the immigrant generation which caused them to view their sojourn in Hawaii, and consequently, the unions contracted during their stay, as being merely temporary in nature, to be terminated when they had accumulated enough wealth to return to their home country. The return movement of many Chinese, undoubtedly left many deserted native wives and *hapa pake* (half Chinese) children. Later native-born Chinese wives of older immigrant men were also to experience desertion when the latter returned to China, often to remain there with wives and families in their home villages.

It is commonly assumed by casual observers that marriages across race lines almost invariably lead to serious consequences, including desertion. Dr. Adams, following an extensive study of interracial marriage in Hawaii, came to the conclusion that union across race lines, even when marked physical and cultural differences are involved, does not necessarily result in maladjustment; but it does involve additional problems of adjustment which would not appear in marriages within the race. His statement on the high rate of divorce in Hawaii and its possible relation to interracial factors applies equally to the related problem of desertion;

> It (divorce) does not appear to be the result of interracial marriage but of the circumstances that tend to free people from their traditional control. It is true doubtless that marriages of men and women who differ considerably in racial traits and cultural backgrounds does involve some extra problems of adjustment. There may be clashing habits and standards. The difficulties in the way of understanding are greater. There is the question of wider social relations. Do the husband and wife wish to maintain social relations with his people or with hers, or both? Do they agree in their desires and are they able to win social acceptance according to preferance? Do they find themselves more or less isolated socially?[6]

5 She had evidently departed greatly from the older Japanese tradition according to which these practices were quite proper.

6 Romanzo Adams, Interracial Marriage In Hawaii, 1937, p. 225.

It is apparent that persons who marry outside of their own ethnic groups are likely to be deprived of whatever experience and control the group may provide in marriage relations. Not only are the tensions within the family greater but also it seems easier for mixed couples to slip out of their marital responsibilities by way of separation. What proportion of these failures takes the form of desertion is impossible to state from records available. An approximate indication may be gained from Table 1 which shows 35 percent or 42 cases of desertion from mixed marriages. During the period 1930-34, 28.5 per cent of all marriages in the territory were between persons of different racial stocks. From this it appears then that mixed marriage are disproportionately numerous in desertion cases. Moreover, outmarriage occurs more frequently in the disorganized groups than in those which are able to maintain adequate traditional control. Outmarriage is high among the Puerto Rican, Hawaiians, Portuguese, Filipinos, and the transient portion of the Caucasian population . Some of these groups are in the main characterized by relative economic instability, and therefore tend to utilize desertion, "the poor man's divorce," as the easiest way out of marital troubles. (See Table 1)

The special significance of the sex disproportions as a factor contributing to desertion appears particularly in the cases of the *haole* and Filipino groups. Due to their disproportionate sex ratio, the absence of the control exerted by home ties, and possibly reenforced by the conception of the tropics as the place of hospitable women, not a few *haole* men have established relationships with local women of various races. Although, many of these unions are legitimate in character, permanence is not the rule with most of these alliances. When through necessity or desire the husband returns to the mainland the Island wife is freqeuently deserted without means of support for herself or her children. Divorce proceedings may be undertaken when the man is located by social agencies. While marriage of enlisted men is not encouraged by military and naval authorities, it is in some cases permitted. In considerable number of cases, these men abandon their local wives at the end of the two or three year period of service in Hawaii, though a few leave the service with intentions of establishing themselves permanently in the community. The following case is typical of many others which follow a similar pattern:

An intelligent looking Puerto Rican girl Rose C. applied at an agency for financial aid for the support of herself and four young children. She had been married in 1932 to an army sergeant who deserted her the same year when he was ordered to a station on the mainland. Although he had promised to send money for her support until he could send for her and the children, he failed to do either. Through the help of the agency the soldier was finally located in Panama. But Rose says that though she wants support from him she doesn't care to have him back. In the meantime, she received relief from the agency while living with her family.

In another case of the same nature Alice M. a Portuguese girl, asked

for relief and assistance in locating her husband, a former soldier. Information from army sources revealed that he had applied for permission to marry this girl but the Army authorities refused him. The couple lived as common-law partners for about six months, after which time the soldier married the girl in spite of orders. He became deeply involved in debt, was demoted and discharged from the army. He secured a job in town, apparently in quite a responsible position. However, he was responsible for a certain shortage of the funds which he had been handling and he fled from arrest to his home town in Kansas. Negotiations made between him and his Portuguese wife showed possibilities of reconciliation, in spite of the fact that the woman accused him of often mistreating her and of drinking excessively.

The Filipino group also shows a moderately high figure of desertion particularly in relation to the Oriental groups. The sex disproportion is still acute, explaining the necessity for the Filipino males to find wives among women of other races (a stage in the immigrant experience which other groups with unequal sex distribution, such as the Chinese, have passed.) Related to this explanation is the fact that as a newly arrived immigrant group with a disproportionate number of single males, the Filipino is as yet subject to acute social and personal disorganization which would reflect on family stability in general. The desire to return to the Philippine Islands on the part of a man who is able to secure passage for himself alone would account for some cases of desertion.

Mrs. A (Hawaiian) is now 38 years old; her first husband was a Filipino who deserted her six years ago to return to the Philippine Islands. There were three children from this first union. The woman soon after took another Filipino man as a common-law husband, and had four children from this second union. The man was involved in a stabbing case and was imprisoned. At present Mrs. M. is living with a Hawaiian man. The family has been on relief since 1927, the income now being augmented by the earnings of one of the sons who is at a C.C.C. camp, and by contributions from the Puerto Rican husband of the eldest daughter who still lives with the family.

It will be observed that most of the factors mentioned in this paper arise out of conditions peculiar to the frontier and may be expected to play a less important role with the passing of the frontier.

SOME ASPECTS OF PUBLIC WELFARE IN HAWAII

IWAO MIZUTA

The average citizen tends to think of the relief client in terms of stereotypes derived from the days of rugged individualism, when the pauper was definitely a moral deviate—an individual who lacked the right to be treated as a normal member of the community. The relief client is still held responsible for the economic and social difficulties, which make it necessary for him to apply to a welfare agency for assistance. The remarks of an insurance salesman typify this common attitude:

Why should the tax-payers support these people who don't even attempt to plan for the future and then go begging. Of course there are cases where people are victims of circumstances, and they can't be blamed, but too often we find that individuals don't think ahead and live only for the moment, and then they want us to support them when some crisis arises.

We see in the general community reaction toward public relief an attempt to conserve the family as an independent, self-sustaining unit against the encroachments of government. Social Security[1] is still an innovation in this community and by no means incorporated within the local *mores*. Moreover nearly all of the immigrant groups with any cultural solidarity regard the individual or the family as the seat of responsibility, and they look with disfavor upon government support of dependent families.

Unemployment is one of the most frequent sources of family dependency in Hawaii compelling the government to intercede in behalf of the unfortunates when private enterprise broke down. The following case is typical of families seeking relief because of unemployment:

Mrs. D., a Portuguese, applied at the public welfare agency for assistance, saying that her husband was laid off from a pineapple cannery in Honolulu, a month before because of lack of work. They were delinquent in rent and needed help at once. She said that there were four minor children with another baby coming soon.

The social case worker visited their two room home and found Mr. D., a Hawaiian, limping with pain. His left foot was swollen. It appeared that he had sprained it while walking on the sidewalk outside his house several days before He explained that, if it healed sufficiently, it would not handicap him in doing hard manual work. He showed the worker several papers among which were his Territorial Employment Service card, a cannery service card, and letters of recommendation from a dredging company and a navigation company.

The employment service card showed that Mr. D. was 25 years old, 5 ft. 6 inches tall, and 148 pounds in weight, and classified as a tractor and jack-hammer operator. The letter from the dredging company said that the man was employed by them for two years on the company dredger as a deckhand, stating in part that, "Mr. D. is a steady and conscientious worker." The letter from the navigation company verified the man's employment as a seaman, while the cannery service card identified Mr. D. as a Yale truck driver in the warehouse. He was laid off because of lack of work.

1 The Public Welfare Act, under which the Territorial Board of Public Welfare was established to provide assistance to the aged, blind, dependent children, and other needy persons, became a law in 1937. An Act passed by the 1939 Territorial Legislature replaced the Board of Public Welfare by a Department of Social Security, effective July 1, 1939.

Mr. D. told the worker that he had tried to obtain work at several contracting companies without avail, and that he now had no money with which to feed his family. There was no food in the house and the family had been borrowing food from a neighbor. The D's owed $28.00 for two months back rent. If this were not paid soon they would be evicted.

It was suggested to Mr. D. that the agency might be able to certify him for WPA work, but he said that he could not take it for at least a few weeks because of his foot. The couple wanted direct relief for three weeks until Mr. D. could get a job with the dredging company, of which he was quite hopeful.

In this case, as in other cases of a similar nature, the social worker makes an attempt to place employable men back into private industry, first, through the Territorial Employment Service. When this is impossible, they are registered for unemployment compensation benefits or certified for WPA work. The last resort is to give direct relief and this only when relatives are not able to support the families.

Because of personality or character defects, mental or physical incapacity, lack of vocational aptitude or education, or an unsatisfactory employment record, private enterprises often will not accept a number of men. Their families then find it necessary to rely on public relief for support.

The vast majority of the unemployed men are seasonal, casual, or unskilled laborers, who apply for assistance because there is no work available for them in the city or on the plantations. The number of applications at the welfare agency fluctuates with any disturbance in the industries of the community—in the work on the water front, lumber yards, pineapple canneries, fishing industry, building and construction enterprises, relief work projects, and in domestic service. Earning barely enough on which to subsist even when one member is employed, these families often find themselves entirely without resources when work projects are completed or when seasonal work is ended. Assistance is necessary until they become self-sustaining.

The plight of the alien unemployed presents a further problem. A great number of Japanese, Korean, Filipino, and Chinese men, who have come to Hawaii as unskilled plantation laborers and have drifted away from the plantations to compete for a living in the city, frequently find themselves without work. Because of their alien status they are barred from federal work projects.

Mr. Engracio C. came to Hawaii from the Philippine Islands and had worked on various plantations on Maui, Hawaii and Oahu. He had married and had two minor children. His wife died at childbirth. At the time of the visit, the worker found Mr. C. in his single tenement room, eating an early supper. He explained that he applied for relief because he did not have enough money to feed, clothe, and shelter his two children and himself.

For three days during the month before, he worked as an extra hand in a lumber yard. The amount he earned periodically, averaging $15.00 per month, was not enough to live on for him and his children.

It is true that relief may have a demoralizing effect upon families by destroying self-respect and developing an attitude of dependency when assistance is continued for a long period of time. On the other hand the breakdown of family unity and its associated personal and social values may represent an even greater loss to society. This is particularly apparent in the case of dependent children.

The L. family was first known to the public welfare agency when Mr. Edward L., 70 year old Portuguese, appeared at the office, stating that his son, Frank L., had been sentenced to prison to serve a two year term, leaving six minor children in the care of the parents. Frank had been working on a WPA project and had been supporting his children on $49.60 per month in his father's home before he went to prison. Mary, the mother of the children, had deserted the family a year before.

At the time of the application for relief, there was no one in the household of eight employed or capable of being employed. The children were in elementary school, and the grandparents were too aged to work. All relatives were married and had large families of their own or were themselves too poor to assist. Mr. Edward L. was retired from a local public utilities concern. He received a monthly pension of $90.00, but, with a debt of $300.00 and a $900.00 mortgage on his house still pending, he was in no position to support six grandchildren beside his wife and himself.

Mr. Edward L. said he would be forced to abandon the children or to do "something" about the situation, saying that he had already done his share of life's work in rearing his own family of six boys without this additional burden being thrust upon him in old age. However, he was willing to keep the children if he had some financial aid. It was apparent in this situation that some assistance would have to be given to Mr. L. in order to maintain the children in the protection and care of a reliable home until the release of their father from prison.

Desertion and separation are the result of the breakdown of the family with the root of the conflict often embedded in economic insecurity. When a man is unable to support his family because of poverty, unemployment or even because of laziness or character defects, he will desert, being too poor to afford a divorce. A woman may abandon her family for like reasons if she thus can escape an intolerable economic situation at home. In the final analysis it is the children who suffer the consequences of a broken home.[2]

Case workers are impressed by the importance of maintaining the unity of the family. When a home is visited by death, desertion, or by illness and hospitalization of the mother, the aid of a house-keeper may be solicited to keep the family together. The loss of the bread-winner is ordinarily regarded as valid grounds for granting relief, if thereby it is possible to conserve

2 At the end of November, 1938, the Oahu Public Welfare Commission was responsible for the complete or partial support of 2243 dependent children living with their parents or in the homes of relatives.

family morale and its associated personal values.

The problem of caring for the aged has not become as acute as it may a few years hence when Hawaii loses its youthful cast. In 1930 only 2.3 percent of Honolulu's population were 65 years or over, as compared with 5.4 per cent in continental United States. Our situation is complicated, however, by the large proportion of the aged who are single men, old bachelors who came to Hawaii many years ago to work on the plantations and who are no longer able to do even the odd jobs available in Honolulu. There are in adition the widowed of advanced years and the aged whose children are unwilling or economically unable to support their parents. A rather widespread conception exists in the community that old age assistance from the public welfare agency is in the nature of a pension to which every person over 65 years of age is rightfully entitled, and as a consequence children are sometimes unwilling to assist their indigent parents. A territorial law, however, definitely provides that grown children, financially able, are legally responsible for the support of their parents.[3] In November, 1938, there were 1,016 aged on relief in Honolulu, out of a total of 2563 cases.

The question is frequently asked, "With what attitude do people come to a relief agency?" It can be stated at the outset that there are very few, who prefer to be dependent upon public reilef. It is true, however, that attitudes towards relief differ according to the problem presented, the social, cultural, and economic history, and the immediate situation of each case. No two persons assume the same attitude, although there appear to be some similarity within different racial and cultural groups.

Social workers have noted an attitude among some Puerto Ricans, Hawaiians, and Portuguese that public relief money is a "gift" from the government to the poor. There also exists among the aged Hawaiians the general belief that all people over 65 years of age had a "right" to a $30.00 a month "pension," regardless of need. This doubtless harks back to the old feudal tradition according to which the commoner might properly appeal to his chiefs for aid in return for the services he had rendered. Moreover, unlike the Oriental races, many of whom are aliens, the Hawaiians and Portuguese are aware that they are citizens, that they have paid taxes and that they, therefore, have some claims upon the public treasury.[4]

The breakdown of group solidarity among the Portuguese, manifested by a high degree of out-marriage, and the weakening of the *mores* have no doubt contributed much to their attitude towards relief. The general temper of urban life with its money economy and its individualistic competitive spirit is destroying the sense of group responsibility for their needy. The children

3 Revised Laws of Hawaii, 1935. Chapter 30, Section 4538.

4 Referrals are sometimes made by social workers on the field, by public health nurses, by other social agencies such as the Social Service Bureau and the Children's Service Association which transfer chronic and economic cases to the public welfare agency, by the Hospital Social Service, the Juvenile Court, the Territorial Employment Service, and other organizations of a similar nature. Interested citizens, social-minded doctors, and a few politicians also refer cases to the public welfare agency. The applicants represent all the diverse races and cultures in the islands.

may allow the parents to go on relief although able to provide at least part of their support.

The less aggressive Orientals, especially the Chinese and Japanese, frequently express their dismay at being forced to depend upon the government, particularly because of their alien status. They are likewise sensitive to the loss of status which the acceptance of public relief entails. To do so is an admission of the breakdown of the family as well as of personal failure, since in the homeland the responsibility of caring for the economic needs of the unfortunate rests with their respective families. An extreme case of Japanese pride may be seen in the following illustration:

A social worker, new to the case and unaware of the intense feeling on the part of the family, visited the home to leave a few theater tickets for the children, but, finding the mother absent, left the tickets with the eldest son, aged 13. The boy appeared quiet and showed no signs of anything unusual. The next day, however, the mother appeared in the agency office to protest against the intrusion of the worker into her private family affairs, and particularly of the worker's visit to the home which would announce to the community their state of dependency. Her son was so humiliated that he was unable to eat his dinner and he regarded the giving of the tickets to be an insult. The family had recently changed their residence because of the gossip of Japanese neighbors, but the mother bewailed the fact that even in their present locality, because of the worker's faux pas they must still suffer from the stigma of being "charity" wards.

The Older Japanese generally feel that, as a race, it is humiliating to be supported by relief, and they generally come to the agency only as a final resort. Even then a worker sometimes discovers a client who asks for a loan, instead of direct relief. This would mean that where a family is faced with actual want it will accept financial assistance only as a last measure.

Generally speaking, the degree of pride shown in applying for relief depends upon the social, economic, and educational background of the families, their level of intelligence, and their past experiences. A family with any standing in the community will resist much more than one without any relatives or friends. The latter will have less to lose socially.

The *haoles*[5] who apply for relief are usually transients from the mainland United States—single men not established economically and socially in the Caucasian community. They come into the community without friends or relatives, drift from one temporary job to another, and finally end up on relief. Since the *haoles* generally tend to occupy the upper income brackets in the community, there are few *haole* families on relief. Those scattered cases are usually of mixed marriages between a Caucasian man and a woman of another race.

The Puerto Ricans present an acute problem of pauperization. They appear to have lost whatever initiative for self-support which they may once have possessed. In the words of a social case worker:

5 Persons of North European ancestry residing in Hawaii.

The Puerto Ricans are dependent and lazy. Individuals may work hard, but, when they are out of work, they will come to the office with the assumption that, since they had already worked hard, the agency is to come to their assistance. There is quite an inferiority complex in the group. A member of the race will admit that the Puerto Ricans, as a race, are bad but would claim to be an exception himself because he is part Portuguese or something else.

Evidently, the morals and group loyalty of Puerto Ricans are low. Common-law marriages are widely practiced, and the occupational level of the majority appears to be no better than common labor.

A case, which well illustrates the disorganized situation of the Puerto Ricans, is that of the R. family.

Mrs. R., with ten children to support, came to the agency because her common-law husband had deserted her ten months ago. She claimed that she had been working as a maid and was trying to support the children, who lived in an over-crowded home and were not receiving proper care. She asked for help from the agency so that she could care for the children herself.

Mrs. R. lived with her brother, Joseph, whose wife, Mary, and her children had left the home sometime ago to live with her father. Mrs. R's sister, Violet, was living in the Philippine Islands with her Filipino husband, while Sarah, another sister, was a taxi dancer on the Island of Hawaii. Nancy O. another sister with several children, was staying with Mrs. R. In all there were more than a dozen children in the house.

Because of over-crowding the case worker proposed that the family move out to a house renting for not more than $12.00, as this was all that the agency could afford. Mrs. R. remarked that she was sure that she could not find anything suitable for only $12.00.

Mrs. R. further stated that she needed a stove and some chairs before she could move out. As a stove appeared essential, the case worker told her that the agency might be able to provide her with one but that she might be able to borrow the furniture from her brother as he appeared well supplied. The woman objected to this plan, saying that she thought that the agency was to help people. She felt that she should get more than merely enough for rent and food.

There seemed to be frequent drinking and fighting in the family, as the case worker once found Mrs. R. and Mack, another relief client, indulging in a pint of whiskey. At another time, the worker found the woman wearing dark glasses as she had a black eye. She stated that her sister, Nancy O., had been in her home when T. O., her brother-in-law, had quarreled with Nancy. In the ensuing fight, Mrs. R., claimed that she was hit in the eye by Mr. O.

The woman had entered into a common-law relationship with Mr. R., a sailor, in 1928. She had several children by him. He had supported her and the children, until he was transferred away from the Islands for duty, but had always sent some money to her. When Mr. R. was later contacted, he stated that she was promiscuous in her relationships with men and had children by several.

One day the case worker received a telephone call from the Police department. The woman had been referred by the City and County jail to the Palama Venereal Disease Clinic for an examination. She had

been picked up by the police the night before when she was suspected of soliciting on the streets. Since then she had been attending the clinic regularly. She is now living with her brother, Joseph, who is paying the rent.

The Filipinos, constituting the most recent immigrant group, have been compelled to live on a low economic level, to which they are fairly well accommodated. The majority who left the plantations are menial and seasonal workers in the fishing industry, the lumber yards, the canneries, and the construction industries. In addition to the keen competition from other races for jobs, they are faced by a general lack of education and vocational training, and by discrimination on the part of employers in more desirable positions. Thus out of sheer economic necessity, some of the Filipinos will apply for aid. It can generally be said, however, that they are willing to work if given the chance, and the social worker is greatly impressed both by their avidity to secure employment and their ingenuity in living within limited resources.

Of course, in the final analysis, most people apply for relief because they are faced with an economic difficulty which requires outside assistance. Because of the lack of the basic necessities of life—food, clothing, and shelter—a person will often apply to the agency for relief despite the disapproval of the group. Moreover the strength of the racial attitudes toward relief depend largely upon the size of the group, as affecting its solidarity and the degree of organization or morale within the different racial groups. Clients from the more highly organized and culturally integrated groups, such as the *haole*, Chinese, or Japanese, are more sensitive to the acceptance of relief than are the smaller, less integrated groups, represented by the Koreans, Puerto Ricans, and Spanish.

The attitudes toward relief may also be the result of territorial propinquity. If there are a large number of relief cases within a restricted area of the community, it becomes natural for the people within the area to accept relief as a matter of course and to expect it for themselves. These groups may evolve standards different from those of other areas which are more secure economically and socially. Families that apply at the public welfare agency, therefore, bring with them some reflections of their group attitudes—those of their race and of their particular local area.

One of the most serious difficulties encountered by the social worker in this, as perhaps in every community, is the problem of making the very restricted relief allowance cover all of the essential demands of the family. Everyone recognizes the urgency for the entire population of an adequate diet to maintain health and ordinary working efficiency. It is frequently contended, however, that people on relief must learn to accommodate their tastes to the restricted relief budgets which the community can provide. But there is an irreduceable limit below which the relief budget cannot go in other items beside food and still maintain health and efficiency. Actually relief practice in this community has taken account of the differential consumption habits of the population

and a minimum budget has been established which is considerably below that of California.

The following minimum budgets for a theoretical family of five—parents and three children under ten years of age—show the contrast between the relief standards of Honolulu and of California, item by item.

Per Month	Honolulu[6] 1936	California[7] 1937
Food	$37.23	$43.56
Housing (rent)	12.65 (now $15.26)	25.00
Clothing and Personal Incidentals	6.55	12.15
Housing Operations	6.31	8.75 (includes fuel)
Transportation	5.00	1.87
Education	1.29	1.05
Recreation	2.17	7.27
Medical Care	.40	.00
Totals	$73.10	$101.63

Though the budget for the Honolulu family of five requires a minimum income of $73.10, there are very few families actually receiving more than $50.00 a month in relief. The family of five on relief ordinarily receives not more than $50.75; itemized as follows: $15.00 for rent (varies with each family), $33.00 for food, $1.25 for light, and $1.25 for fuel. There is no money allowed for clothing, personal incidentals, housing operations, transportation, recreation, or medical care. Expenses for the medical attention of relief families are assumed by the City and County of Honolulu.

A relief budget so low that the client sees no possibility of maintaining even the most basic standards of decency and self respect may result in serious consequences to the community.[8] The eldest son, aged 14, of a Japanese widow with four minor children was known to the Juvenile Court as a delinquent and had been causing her considerable worry. The mother explained that the boy had played truant from an intermediate school.

Since my children demand so much of me for money—to buy clothes, for school expenses, and for entertainment, I want to go to work to give them these. My children are teased by other children in school be-

6 Prepared by a committee, appointed by the Honolulu Council of Social Agencies in 1936, to determine the minimum cost of living in Honolulu.

7 Prepared by the Hellar Committee for Research in Social Economics at the University of California at Berkeley in 1937 to determine a minimum budget for San Francisco relief families.

8 The relief and case load estimates of the Oahu Public Welfare Commission (serving the City and County of Honolulu) for November, 1938, are as follows:

Classification	Cases	Average Per Case
Aid to Dependent Children	644	$38.62
General Assistance	739	22.86
Aid to the Blind	46	14.59
Child Welfare Service	118	27.52
Old Age Assistance	1016	13.82

General Assistance includes the needy who are not eligible to receive aid under the other classifications because of limitations in age, residence or other specifications. To be eligible for "general assistance", a person must be in need without resources of any kind. Insufficient incomes of the needy are oftentimes supplemented with relief grants.

cause they cannot afford things which other children have. They feel that they are social out-casts. They do not understand that their mother cannot supply them with the things they want, and, consequently, they show their resentment against me by calling me names, saying that, when they are grown, they plan to desert me in my old age. They cannot understand why their mother cannot give them things like other mothers, realizing we are under the welfare, with no money to spare for incidentals. Being denied, my children threaten to steal and to do mischief in revenge.

Here are then some of the more obvious problems of public welfare in Hawaii. Aside from the great cities of the country with their multi-cultural immigrant populations, relief giving elsewhere is perhaps not as greatly influenced by differences of cultures among the people as in Hawaii. In Hawaii, we find that some races of people will demand relief in contrast to others who will decline it; these attitudes can be traced back to their respective cultures and the comparative degree of group solidarity and morale. Entwined with relief giving can also be seen the problem of providing an adequate budget for families in need.

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